

The University of Chicago

THE GERMAN HOUSEHOLD POEM

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

1936

By
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An interesting phenomenon of the Middle Ages is the love for long enumerations. One has but to think of the rambling episodes of the popular epic, which run on and on and spare no details. Works on religious themes, including some of the allegorico-mystical poems and treatises of the fourteenth century, often contain long, detailed enumerations. Some list a specific number of elements, such as the Seven Sorrows of Mary, the Seven Joys of Mary, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Thirty-Seven Names and Grades of Love, the Fifteen Signs of the Last Day, the Book of the Nine Stones, and the Twelve Fruits of the Suffering of Jesus Christ. Many medieval lists, whimsical and serious, survey material objects. In a whimsical vein many German literary works about Schlaraffenland describe a mythical country in which no one need starve. In this gourmet's paradise delicious foods, completely cooked and ready to eat, conveniently grow on trees; roasted pigs and fowl roam about in search of some hungry person, and the like. Lists of delicacies form a large part of the description of Schlaraffenland.

Serious in purpose and treatment are the medieval lists of articles of the household. Such an enumeration is found in Alexander Neckam's De nominibus utensilium,¹ a thirteenth-century Latin prose work of the learned tradition. Neckam lists all things necessary for the successful management of an estate, the utensils, furnishings, and tools used both in and out of doors. Since Neckam made a scholarly effort to be as complete as possible, his list is extremely long and contains many unusual and out-of-the-way things, such as the rarest fish and animals to be cooked, and even ecclesiastical furnishings and vestments.

Some medieval German poems list everyday household ar-

¹R. Ellis, "A Contribution to the History of the Transmission of Classical Literature in the Middle Age, from Oxford Manuscripts," American Journal of Philology, X (1899), 159-162. Scheler has published a text, from a Brussels manuscript, in Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur, VII (1866), 58-74, 155-173.

ticles; they enumerate the various utensils, furnishings, and other objects necessary in and about a home. These constitute a genre which I shall call the household poem.¹ The household poem does not consist of bare lists of household articles alone; in this respect it is utterly different from lexicographical lists like Neckam's. Already at an early date, matrimony is associated with the lists in a variety of ways: in some household poems, the lack of these objects drives the young married couple to distraction; in others, the articles are recommended as desirable to those who intend to marry; in all, there is a curious negative treatment of the articles listed. The household poem is quite clearly a part of the great body of medieval literature on manners and morals.

A number of French poems are akin to the German which I am to discuss. Into the history of these French poems I shall not go at length, since it apparently had no effect on the developments in Germany. It is conceivable, perhaps even probable, that the French and German poems spring ultimately from the same roots. The oldest French poem is De l'oustillement au villain,² written in the second half of the thirteenth century. It begins with the observation:

Homme qui se marie
Moult par fet grant folie.

The poem lists foods and articles of the household which a man needs who is taking a wife; the list begins with the house, includes such things as farming tools, and attaches considerable importance to the cow which supplies milk for the baby. Another poem of the thirteenth century is Outieus de l'ostel.³ This begins with whimsical observations about marriage and the home:

Ménage au commencement
Si prent les gens par serement
Et par fiancé.
Ménage sueffre que on dance

¹In German the genre is known as the Hausratgedicht, the "household-utensil poem."

²A. de Montaiglon and G. Raynaud, Recueil général des fabliaux (Paris, 1877), II, 148-156, 323-328.

³A. Jubinal, "Le ditté des choses qui faillent en ménage et en mariage," Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux (Paris, 1842), II, 162-169. Another version in G. Raynaud, "Le dit des outils de l'hotel," Romania, XXVIII (1899), 49-60. I have not seen Trebutien, Dit de ménage, cited by Jubinal.

Au premier, c'est grand décevance
Et trahison.

Soon the demands of the household become oppressive. One must have a table, a cat, a dog, cattle and good fields, utensils, dishes, tools, linen, and other things belonging to the home. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, Eustache Deschamps, a poet of the French court, included such lists in the "Miroir de Mariage,"¹ a satirical poem on woman and marriage. Chapter XV is entitled: "Des charges qui sont en mariage pour le mesnage soutenir avec les pompes et grans bobans des femmes." Deschamps' list reflects the circles in which he was moving at the time; many of the articles, such as beautiful furniture, fine clothes, and precious stones, are the most expensive imaginable, suitable only for the nobility:

Et sces tu qu'il fault aux matrones
Nobles palais et riches troues,
Et a celles qui se marient,
Qui moult tost leurs pensers varient?

Deschamps used the theme also in a ballad, "Pour les nouveaulx mariez et de leur mesnage."² This is a rather bare list, but it also includes several very expensive articles intended only for the wealthy. Slightly different in spirit is a song of about 1450, "La complainte du nouveau marié, lequel marié se complainte des extensilles qui luy fault avoir à son mesnaige, et est en manière de chanson."³ The poet complains that he was not very wise when he got married the year before, and exposed himself to great danger when he entered housekeeping; he lists all things a household needs, beginning:

A mesnaige fault pain et vin
Sarges, et coustes, et coussin,
Varlet et chamberière.

The list is extensive, and everything appears in glorious disarray; the mention of gold, silver, good horses in the stable, and other luxuries, indicates a high standard of living.

These and other similar French poems are much like the German household poems; they contain a list of household utensils,

¹G. Raynaud, Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps ("Société des anciens textes français"; Paris, 1894), IX, 42-50.

²Ibid., VIII, 137-138

³A. de Montaiglon, Recueil de poésies françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles (Paris, 1855), I, 218-223.

treated negatively, and associated with matrimony. In many respects, however, the French poems differ essentially. The character of the things enumerated is different; in many French poems, the author gives free reign to his fancy and lists many expensive things not really necessary in a household. The German poems also list furnishings in various strata of society; some describe the homes of the poorest Bavarian peasants, others the homes of fairly well-to-do dwellers in Nürnberg and Strassburg, but the articles are usually the most necessary. Only in the later stages of the development, in the sixteenth century, when the genre was beginning to disintegrate, do the German poets strive for elaborateness, which reveals itself in longer lists rather than richness of individual articles. The French and German poems differ strikingly also in the order of enumeration; the German lists almost invariably begin with foods and kitchen articles, while the French show no such regularity.

Interesting is the parallel development in France and Germany. The first rhymed list of household utensils appears in German as early as the twelfth century, fully a century before the first French household poems; however, the first genuine German example of which we know is of the fourteenth century. The household poem in France never enjoyed such great popularity as did the German in Bavaria in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Traces of the genre are more clearly discernable in German literature and folksong than in French.

The importance of the household poem lies not so much in its poetic qualities, or its didactic content, as in its significance in the cultural history of Germany, and its position in German literary history.

The household poem is a typically German genre. Living close to the soil, forced by natural circumstances to be frugal in the extreme, the German has for centuries clung to his few household possessions, the material things closest to him, for which he has come to have a feeling almost of affection. Hence, the German family, perhaps more than any other, often treasures pieces of old furniture and other heirlooms and hands them down from generation to generation. Further evidence of this love for familiar personal belongings is the fact that in German archives are thousands of detailed inventories of household effects and other personal property appended to wills and deeds. From a cul-

tural point of view, these poems assume a new importance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, because the woodcuts appended to some of them illustrate the various utensils and often picture things that would otherwise be known to us only by name.

Of greatest interest to the student of literature is the position of the genre in German literature. Although this poetry never achieved or deserved great distinction, its literary connections and repercussions have great significance. The beginnings of the genre and the development of a tradition of household poetry, which can be localized in one specific part of Germany, are connected with interesting literary personalities. Then, too, this poetry flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and some of the popular writers contributed to the success of the genre. Significant also are echoes of the household poem in other genres of literature to the present time.

The household poem as a literary genre did not burst forth into full bloom suddenly. Long before the appearance of the first genuine example, that is, a poem devoted exclusively to the theme, one can discern modest beginnings and attempts--the roots of the type, as it were--in earlier German poetry treating entirely different themes.

I

The earliest poem containing the germ of the idea appears to be Daz himilriche¹ (Cod. Lat. Mon. 9513, Oberaltach 13), written about 1187 in the Benedictine monastery of Windberg in Bavaria, possibly by the author or scribe of the Windberg Psalter.² The dialect, style, orthography, and even occasional passages are the same in both works.³

Daz himilriche--the name was given the poem by Schmeller--is a religious poem of 189 couplets. Poetry in long lines is not unusual at this time, but an entire poem in long verses, contain-

¹R. Hävemeier, Daz himilriche, ein bairisches Gedicht aus dem XII. Jahrhundert, Göttingen Dissertation (Bückeburg, 1891); J. A. Schmeller, "Deutsches des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, VIII (1851), 145-155.

²G. Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters (München, 1922), II. Teil, 1. Abt., 140.

³Hävemeier, p. 31.

ing up to nineteen syllables, once aroused a great deal of speculation. Many scholars maintained these verses to be the first genuine hexameters in German, or at least the bungling imitation of Latin hexameters. These views have been abandoned in more recent times.¹ It is, of course, possible that the Latin hexameter inspired the author to write long, irregular German verse.² Although the author speaks modestly in verses 126 ff., his conventional expression belongs to the style of the medieval religious writer, and does not necessarily prove him to have been a pupil in a monastery. He shows a mastery in the use of words excelled by few of his contemporaries, and it is highly improbable that he was writing the poem as a school exercise. Like the Windberg Psalter, the work has an enormous vocabulary, and abounds in synonyms, parallelisms, and Latin expressions.

The poem is largely a description of heaven, the abode of the blessed. The author borrows freely from the Apocalypse, following the traditional treatment of its materials in the Middle Ages.³ He begins with the thought that God is omniscient and omnipotent as He sits on His great throne, guiding the destiny of the universe (vss. 1-64). The body of the poem (vss. 65-303) discusses heaven and its glory; Iris, the rainbow, the symbol of peace and the cessation of the power of Satan, shines above the throne. After giving many details from the Apocalypse, the author skilfully turns to a negative description of heaven (vss. 265-303), one more from the point of view of human beings. The last portion of the poem (vss. 304-378) returns once more to Apocalyptic themes.

In order to impress the reader with the utter spirituality of heaven, the author lists things that are not to be found there. In heaven, we read, everything is of the spirit and the soul. There are no class distinctions; all are equal. Not even cattle

¹These verses are probably a free imitation of the Latin Vagantenzeile, a trochaic verse of thirteen syllables; see A. Heusler, Deutsche Versgeschichte ("Grundriss der germanischen Philologie," VIII; Berlin und Leipzig, 1927), II, 267-8, 139-141. Hävemeier, p. 2, asserts that the long verses of the Himilriche, usually with four stresses in the first half and three in the second half of the verse, represent an intermediate stage between Otfrid's verse and that of the popular epic.

²Ehrismann, II. Teil, 1. Abt., 142

³J. Kelle, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur (Berlin, 1892-6), II, 102.

die or suffer beatings in order to satisfy the demands of men. No longer does one lay wood on the fire, for heat and frost and unpleasant weather cannot come near; hence there is no woof or warp, no spinning, weaving, or sewing. The blessed are garbed in the eternal, spiritual light; they have no use for clothing of any sort, no need for coats and cloaks. Next to their skin they place no undershirt or trousers; they have no cares about furs and fur coats. Their feet are free from linen stockings, leggings, or shoes. Since nothing is eaten or drunk, baking bread, or frying and roasting meat and fish, or preparing cheese and eggs, or making wine and mead, are not carried on. The hair of these happy dwellers is always tidy, without the use of brushes and combs. They rest without feather-beds, bolsters, or pillows; they require no soap for the bath, no rings for the fingers, no golden ornaments for the neck. The rays of the sun and moon do not extend to this place; the dwellers need not work, but lead a carefree, easy life in which all paths have been made smooth.

Negative descriptions, especially of heaven, were a conventional formula of the times, particularly in the Latin ecclesiastical works. One peculiar formula, characterized by the use of two abstract nouns connected by "without," can be traced back to the sermons of Caesarius of Arles.¹ Ehrismann erroneously implies

¹R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt* (Detmold, 1879), pp. 29-30. Caesarius of Arles, in his sermon *Admonitio de praesentis vitae*, said: "Ibi est vita sine morte, juvenus sine senectute, lux sine tenebris, gaudium sine tristitia, voluntas sine injuria, regnum sine commutatione, requies sine labore, refectio sine fastidio, claritas sine nube." Unmistakable echoes of this occur in sermons of Boniface and in sermons erroneously ascribed to Augustine. The formula became common in ecclesiastical circles and appeared later in some of the monuments of early German literature: for example, in the ninth-century Old High German *Gospel Harmony* of Otfrid of Weissenburg, the first German rhymed poem (I, 18, 9: "Thar ist lib ana tod, licht ana finstri"; V, 22, 6: "ana toth inti ana leid."); in the *Muspilli*, a tenth-century alliterative poem about the day of judgment (vss. 16-17: "dari ist lip ano tod, licht ano finstri, selida ano sorgun."); in the translation and commentary on the Psalms by Notker Labeo, the famous scholar of the monastery of St. Gall in the tenth century (Ps. 26, 4: "dar tag ane naht ist, dar lib ane tod ist, dar lieb ane leid ist."). Echoes of the formula occur also in the *Crist* of the Northumbrian poet Cynewulf. In the twelfth century the formula began to flourish again, e.g. in *Himmel und Hölle*, a Bamberg poem contrasting the two after-worlds. See R. Müllenhoff and W. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII.-XII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1892), II, pp. 32 ff.

that this formula is the same as the negative description of heaven in the Himilriche.¹ Here the negative description is an expansion of the idea expressed in Rev. 7:16, 21:22-27, that in heaven there is no sun or moon; there are no gates to close by day, for there will be no night; and there shall be neither hunger, nor thirst, nor heat, nor anything profane and base. The author is merely carrying to its logical extremes a common thought of the times, and in so doing shows an unusual originality and ingenuity. His kaleidoscopic picture of various utensils and furnishings used every day by a twelfth-century Bavarian gentleman is a refreshing interlude in a religious poem. The author was a monk, and the poem no doubt reflects the scantiness of monastic life, as well as the wistful desire of the ascetic to be freed from all that is earthly.

Since the author used thoroughly conventional material throughout the greater portion of the work, the idea of listing household articles may also have been conventional.² The combining of the list with the negative description and conventional Apocalyptic observations may have been original with the author.

¹Ehrismann, II. Teil, 1. Abt., 141.

²Conceivably such a convention may have arisen from Old High German glosses. German glosses are the work of learned monks in monasteries, especially in Fulda and St. Gall and other southern centers of learning. Important collections are the Keronisches Glossar and the Vocabularius St. Galli, eighth-century Bavarian glossaries to Latin dictionaries. The marginal or interlinear German translations of words in Latin texts were often ordered topically; such topical glosses, which may have given rise to the household tradition, list such things as parts of the body, varieties of trees, animals, and birds, and domestic articles. Probably the greatest topical gloss is the Summarium Henrici, written in the eleventh century, contained in manuscripts in southern Germany and Austria. This has large sections dealing with domestic articles, food, clothing, farming implements, etc.; see E. Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, Die althochdeutschen Glossen (Berlin, 1882), III, 58 ff.; E. Graff, Diutiska (Stuttgart, 1827), III, 235-262. Other glosses contain similar shorter sections; cf. St. Gall MSS, 184, foll. 261-2, and 292, foll. 192-5; see H. Hattemer, Denkmähe des Mittelalters (St. Gall, 1844), I, 276-7, 308-10; Graff, II, 186-8; Steinmeyer and Sievers, II, 623. The history and literary relations of German glosses are obscure; and although no gloss I have seen resembles a household poem in content and order, the domestic articles listed in these glosses are those that occur in the earlier household poems. For example, the common word vederbett, the Middle High German compound zuomuose ("side-dish"), and the old Germanic words selede ("house") and bouge ("bracelet") occur in the glosses and in the Himilriche, but not in the later household poems.

Since no evidence points to the previous existence of the combination, one can only ascribe it to the ingenuity of the Bavarian monk.

II

A suggestion of the idea of listing household utensils may be seen at this time in the court epic, which flourished from 1180-1300. By the year 1204, Hartmann von Aue, a Swabian, had completed Iwein, an Arthurian romance, describing the conflict between a man's duties as knight and as husband, based on Chrestien de Troyes' Chevalier au Lyon. Iwein contains a short complaint of the difficulties of married life (vss. 2807 ff.), stressing economic aspects. Iwein, after various adventures as a knight, has won a wife and settled down to the prosaic life of a husband and head of a household. On the occasion of a visit by King Arthur and his company, Gawain, a former companion, takes Iwein aside and implores him to give up this new life of inactivity and ease, with its petty but troublesome worries about managing the household, buying wine, clothing, and grain, and performing all the annoying little chores most galling to the spirit of a true knight. No serious attempt is made to list the necessary utensils; the enumeration of articles remained in an incipient stage. The French version of Chrestien de Troyes is not nearly as concrete as that of Hartmann, and does not mention even wine, grain, and clothing. It is probably not without significance that the suggestion of a list of household articles should be introduced into the story by a South German poet, a Swabian.

Another incipient list of household utensils may be seen in the works of Der Tannhuser, an Austrian nobleman and Minnesinger of the middle of the thirteenth century. The descriptions of his home are interesting. When he built his home, he was assisted by Unrat, Schaffenicht, Seltenrich, Schade, and Unbereitt, allegorical figures representing poverty and failure.¹ In another poem he describes his miserable household: his horse is old, his home is

¹F. von der Hagen, Minnesinger (Leipzig, 1838), III, 95-96, No. XIV, stanza 6. This allegorical household reminds one of the household of Hel, the Nordic goddess: her home is Desolation; her knife, Hunger; her plate, Want; her bed, Sick-bed; her servant, Lazyness; her door, Destruction; her curtain, Misfortune; see E. Wilken, Die prosaische Edda (Paderborn, 1877), I, 38.

empty and has no roof; the rooms have no doors; the cellar and kitchen are in ruins; baking and brewing are seldom done in the home, and no one is envious of him on account of his utensils.¹ He implies he has no utensils, and the listing of articles is restricted to the shortcomings of the house and its vacant rooms.

III

The next poem containing a rhymed list of household utensils is another religious poem written about a century later than the Himilriche; it is Hugo von Langenstein's Martina.² Very little is known of the life of Hugo von Langenstein. His family came originally from the district Hegau in Swabia, and he himself was a nobleman of the island of Mainau on the shores of Lake of Constance. In 1282, he entered the Order of Teutonic Knights,³ a society embracing both the high ideals and elaborate statutes of the priesthood and the rules of daily life of the knighthood. It had been founded at Acre in 1190 as a brotherhood of German crusaders, and ultimately became very powerful because of its large holdings of land conquered from the heathen Prussians. This military and religious order produced considerable spiritual and historical literature till the fifteenth century. The Martina is one of the first works originating in the order. When Hugo wrote the Martina (ca. 1293), he was living in one of the order's institutions at Beuggen in Baden, and had changed his status as knight and noble in the order to that of an ecclesiastic. He died in Freiburg im Breisgau about 1300.

The Martina is a long poem on the life and martyrdom of Saint Martina. It recounts in particular detail the speeches and prayers of Martina and other characters. The various incidents in her life are, however, only a framework for reflections on the power of God, the vanities of the world, the pains of hell, Martina's virtue and translation into heaven, and the wickedness of the emperor who causes her death. The work is highly allegorical;

¹Von der Hagen, III, 93-94, No. XII.

²Hugo von Langensteins Martina ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," XXXVIII; Stuttgart, 1856); Codex B VIII, 27 at Basel University.

³E. Wiegmann, Beiträge zu Hugo von Langenstein und seiner Martina (Halle, 1919), p. 64.

various episodes explain the spiritual significance of the clothing of Martina, and of various animals;¹ for example, when Martina is thrown to the lion, Hugo von Langenstein indulges in a rather disconcerting digression by listing the characteristics of the Lion, the symbol of Christ. The poem abounds in teachings concerning the planets, and in other astronomical observations. For this reason Hugo von Langenstein is thought to have been the author of the Mainauer Naturlehre, the first scientific work in Middle High German, which follows the Martina in the manuscript, and is similar to it in style.² One of the longest digressions, consisting of 2400 lines, is entitled: "Von des menschen nature," and is an imitation of Pope Innocent III's De miseria conditionis humanae. It bemoans man's lot in life: man is sinful, and therefore never attains real happiness in this world.

Inserted in "Von des menschen nature" is a short section called "Von den eliuten" (sec. 131), in which Hugo leaves his Latin guide and writes independently. It is by far the best section in the entire work, and shows a realism and liveliness scarcely to be found elsewhere. It begins with the thought that trials and tribulations weigh heavily upon those who are married. One of the chief cares troubling the married man is that of procuring sufficient food: wheat, rye, barley, oats, lentils, and peas must be on hand, otherwise hunger's bells toll constantly in his ears. The members of the household demand all sorts of utensils; they need peas, beans, and other things to cook, and drive the husband to distraction; all his days he must look forward to complaining and sorrow. The family demands more salt, meat, lard, and grain, and the husband becomes angry and argues with them. When he treats the servants gently, he is ridiculed; and when he is harsh, he causes great suffering. Then the children are born, and with them more troubles. Increased demands are placed on the man's failing pocket-book, and to top it off, his wife asks for rich clothing far above his ability to pay. Finally, when the poor wretch lies in bed at night and tries to get a little sleep, his wife keeps him awake with complaining and sighing. Her morn-

¹R. Koehler, "Quellennachweise zu Hugo von Langensteins Martina," Germania VIII (1863), 15-35.

²P. Dold, Untersuchungen zur Martina, Strassburg Diss., (Mülhausen, 1912), pp. 3-4.

ing blessing is a fresh outburst of tears, and as a result the man goes about the day's work unrested.-- At this point the description of the household ends, and the discussion turns to the subject of the evil wife.

Like the Himilriche and Iwein, the Martina is a South German product. In addition to the Latin sources of the work,¹ the author shows strong influence of previous German writers. The Martina may be considered one of the last offshoots of courtly poetry. Hugo von Langenstein held the same exalted views about the duties of the knight as Hartmann von Aue and Wolfram von Eschenbach. The strongest single influence on Hugo von Langenstein was, however, that of Konrad von Würzburg, a Bavarian writer active chiefly in Basel. The style, meter, and phraseology of the Martina are imitations of Konrad von Würzburg's Die goldne Schmiede, a lyric romance in honor of the Virgin Mary.²

Although Hugo von Langenstein may be indebted to others for much of his material, a comparison of the household sections in the Himilriche and Martina leads to the conclusion that Hugo did not know or use his predecessor. In spirit and content the two sections are quite unlike. There is little agreement in the articles mentioned. The Himilriche lists forty-eight articles, the Martina seventeen; only two, gersten and fleisch, occur in both, and they are things so ordinary that they would probably be among the first to occur to the medieval person. There is some slight agreement in the order; both lists begin with food, and the succession agrees to some extent. The one striking similarity is the negative treatment, but even this varies; in both poems, the articles are non-existent; in the Himilriche they are superfluous and unnecessary, while in the Martina they are urgently needed to insure marital happiness. In one respect the sections differ considerably: the passage in the Himilriche is entirely religious, that in the Martina, despite its association with a saint's legend, has the new element noticed in connection with the incipient list in Iwein, namely, matrimony and the difficulties connected with married life. The vividness with which Hugo recounts little domestic details leads one to conclude that he had been married, an assumption borne out by the fact that he entered

¹Wiegmann, pp. 6 ff.; Koehler, Germania, VIII, 15-35.

²Dold, pp. 99 ff.

the order late in life. It is also quite possible that he simply borrowed the idea of the troubles of matrimony from works like Iwein, and added or expanded the listing of domestic articles. At any rate, the Martina, if not Iwein, marks the introduction of the trials of matrimony into rhymed lists of household utensils. In all succeeding poems of the genre, matrimony plays a more or less important role.

IV

Very similar to the household section in the Martina is a poem written at about the same time by Johannes Hadlaub, a Minnesinger of Zurich. At this time Minnesang, the love poetry of the nobility, began to wane at the courts of the princes and the castles of the knights, and was eagerly adopted by people of lower classes. In several cities of southern Germany, prominent burghers established singing schools to preserve the treasures of Minnesang and to foster original composition. Johannes Hadlaub probably came under the influence of such a school in Zurich. Here Rüdiger Manesse (who died in 1253) and his son were making a great collection of Minnesongs, which later formed the basis for the so-called Manessesche Handschrift of Grosze Heidelberger Liederhandschrift written in the fourteenth century. In this manuscript Hadlaub's poems are found, and it is probable that he was acquainted with the politically prominent Manesse family, and had something to do with the gathering of materials for their collection of songs.¹

What little we know of Hadlaub's life has been inferred from his poetry, which fortunately abounds in personal references. Although he expresses an intense love for his lady in the traditional manner of the court-poet, he was a member of the burgher class. That his personal circumstances may even have been poor, comes to light in a little household poem beginning: "Er muoz sin ein wol beraten elich man, der hus sol han, er müeze in sorgen sten."² The theme is expressed in the words: "Hussorge tuot so we!" The song begins with a warning: the young man who wishes to keep house must be well-to-do, otherwise he will be forced to en-

¹K. Bartsch, Die Schweizer Minnesänger (Frauenfeld, 1886), pp. CLXXXIV-CXV, No. XXVII.

²Bartsch, pp. 294-295, No. 7; L. Ettmüller, Joh. Hadlaubes Gedichte (Zurich, 1841), pp. 15-16, No. 7.

dure great hardship. Many a needy bachelor can support himself comfortably; but, poor man, when you enter matrimony, you get into real trouble, for housekeeping is an ordeal! When children are born, you can only think, "What in the world shall I do now?" And when the children ask, "Where are bread and cheese?" their mother must look about helplessly. Soon she, too, begins to demand food, and then your troubles begin. She loses her temper and screams, "Why did I ever marry you? We have no wood, lard, meat, fish, pepper, wine, mush, bread, or salt. What did I ever expect of you?" Amidst such frank expressions of feeling, true happiness departs forever. Housekeeping is the cause of the poet's worries; only one thing causes him greater pain, and that is the annoying habit his lady-love has of refusing to greet him on the street!-- The poem presents an altogether ludicrous picture of the poet; at home he worries about the feeding of his children and fights with his wife; in the street he slinks miserably past an indifferent and scornful woman, and the latter fact causes him greater concern.

Disregarding the last stanzas, which treat of the eternal love-affair of the poet, one sees a domestic scene strikingly like that in the Martina. Both poems picture the troubles of matrimony, brought on by the lack of necessary domestic articles. In both works, children ask for food, but none is forthcoming; the poverty of the family causes violent emotional outbursts on the part of the wife, resulting in the despair of the husband. In both works, salz rhymes with smalz, although there is little further agreement in the articles mentioned. Both mention frost and hunger as enemies of a poor, struggling family. The similarity is perhaps not accidental: Hadlaub's philological interests, attested by his frequent references to the great work of the Manesse family, might easily have brought him into contact with a manuscript of the Martina in Switzerland. However, the repeated occurrence of the idea of lacking household utensils, in connection with the trials of matrimony, makes one inclined to think there was in southern Germany, at this time, a traditional genre of poetry devoted to the theme.

V

Essentially the same theme, with some variation to fit particular circumstances, occurs in a long household poem written about 1350, entitled: Von dem husrate (Joh. Bibl. A. 94, foll.

38d-40a, in Strassburg).¹ The author bears the somewhat unusual and mysterious name "Der König vom Odenwalde," or "Der Pfeiffer-könig vom Odenwalde."² In all probability he was by profession a cook, most likely the head cook or chef, of a prominent Würzburg household, possibly that of the bishop.³ This versatile man, who was by avocation a poet of no mean ability, is the author of the first German cook-book, Das Buch von guter Speise. The further works of this singing cook are realistic songs treating the life and everyday customs of southern Germany in the fourteenth century. A typical example is the Lob der Gans, which not only lists all the various ways this fowl may be prepared for the table, but also explains all conceivable uses for the by-products, such as using the fat to draw the pain from frozen feet.

Von dem husrate, the original copy of which was in a Strassburg manuscript, shows clear evidence of East-Franconian authorship in rhymes and spelling, and it is quite likely that the author, at some time or other in his lifetime, visited Strassburg, for he mentions a few characteristic Alsatian dishes. Schröder has attempted to determine the probable date and circumstances of this visit.⁴

¹F. Pfeiffer, Altdeutsches Übungsbuch (Wien, 1866), pp. 137-8; C. Myller, Sammlung deutscher Gedichte (1787), III, XXXVIII-XXXIX. E. Schröder has published a critical text in Archiv für hessische Geschichte, XVIII (1934), 327-334. A longer, imperfect version (K. 408, foll. 78c-80a in the Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe), evidently written from memory, is discussed by Schröder in Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, LXXI (1934), 265.

²W. Kosch, Deutsches Literaturlexikon (Halle, 1927), II, 1755.

³E. Schröder, "Vom mangelnden Hausrat," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, LXXI (1934), 107-114; *ibid.*, "Ein Nachtrag zu den Gedichten des Königs vom Odenwalde," Archiv für hessische Geschichte, XVIII (1934), 328-331. In the Archiv, III (1904), 1-91, Schröder published twelve of the undoubtedly genuine works of the König, not including Von dem husrate. In Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, LXXI (1934), 107-114, Schröder has shown from the rhymes, choice of words, characteristic catalog style, and striking agreements in peculiar expressions that Von dem husrate is undoubtedly the work of the König. In all his other poems the König names himself repeatedly; in Von dem husrate, too, by a slight emendation of guter Künige to read guter Küniges, we find an ironical reference to himself: "Guter Küniges spise, der bin ich harte unwise." In the poem he speaks of himself humorously as a poor beggar, but his hearers knew that he was really the chef, the "guoter Künig," himself. Only thus does the line make sense.

⁴Archiv für hessische Geschichte, XVIII, 330.

The poem Von dem husrate consists of 81 couplets. The König complains that his singing and composing have been spoiled. Formerly he would have composed songs of love, but keeping house has taught him that he must forego that sort of thing. Another life is before him; his beard is growing long and his hair becoming gray, and he must turn his thoughts to petty things like salt and lard. He leads a miserable, unhappy life, for he has none of the things needed in a successful household. He lists all the things he does not possess, and the list is impressive indeed. It ranges from the kitchen, with its pots, pans, dishes, crockery, silverware, furniture, food, spices, and towels, to the bedroom with its bed, linens, blankets, and finally to the barnyard with all the imaginary cows, sheep, goats, chickens, geese, ducks, and pigs that never disturb the author's sleep. There are no vegetables, no parsley, onions, beets, or lentils; the worms have eaten up all the fruit in the garden. When guests come, there is no meat, bread, or wine to place before them; the poor man is simply distracted, and as the gray dawn steals into his home, he lies awake worrying about his abominable predicament. Towards the end the poet brightens up considerably: there is a young lady who could make him very happy if she cared to, by freeing him from the petty worries of his present unhappy existence. This ending is all the more whimsical when one recalls that he has just said his hair is gray and he must begin a new life.

The listing of household utensils is by no means dry and uninteresting. Usually one line lists one or two articles, and the next declares, in an indirect way, that these things are lacking. The effect is often humorous, as in the lines:

Beide schüsseln und leffeln
hört man wenig bi mir kleffeln.

Essichkrüge, salzvaz--
so ich gedenke: waz ist daz?

Ich sage üch das mir die schaf
niht enbrechent minen slaf.

Enten, hünre, gense
tünt mir kein gedense.¹

Although there is little agreement between the household poem in the Himilriche and that in the Martina, there are striking similarities between Von dem husrate and its predecessors. In all

¹Vss. 21-22, 35-36, 69-70, 73-74.

three, the idea of negation is prominent; although the surrounding circumstances vary widely, the articles mentioned are lacking. Another similarity is the order: the first thought in the Himilriche is for the cattle, the sheep, goats, and steers which need not suffer for the sake of man; the section in the Martina begins with food, rye, and other grains, before going on to clothing and other physical needs. Hadlaub's song deals almost exclusively with foods. Von dem husrate begins with salt and lard and kitchen utensils, then turns to other rooms in the house, and even to the barn, before returning to the sparsely-set dining-table.

There are some signs of a relation between Von dem husrate and the Himilriche, with which the König may have been acquainted, as he was with other literary works of the time.¹ The following section of Von dem husrate is significant:

Ich sorge allewege zû,
so es taget in mime huse frû,
Daz ez dicke jamert mich.
ez ist also zû himelrich,
Der dar iht bringet, der vert dæste baz;
da ist inne weder diz noch daz.²

This reference to heaven is striking in a humorous poem, which by its very nature has nothing to do with the after-world. The remark has a silly humorous twist of its own, and is doubly effective if one is acquainted with the earlier Himilriche, and has learned that heaven is given over to spiritual things and is free of all material property. The evidence on the basis of vocabulary is not decisive: the König uses but ten of the articles that appeared in the Himilriche: bett, brot, bruoeh, geiz, kussin, hemd, schaf, visch, fleisch, and win, all of which are quite common.

Hugo von Langenstein's Martina also seems to have exerted some influence on the König vom Odenwalde. Of the seventeen articles in the Martina, the König has twelve: bett, bohnen, erweiss, haber, kleider, linsen, löffeln, salz, smalz, fleisch, and the general terms husrate and gerete. There is also an agreement in rhyme:

Ich betrachte lezunt umbe salz,
so sorge ich denne umbe smalz.

¹Schröder, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, LXXI, 113. Evidence of his wide reading appears in the similarity between the last lines of this poem and the first lines of poems by Walther von der Vogelweide and Freidank.

²Vss. 135-140.

Siv ruefent aber nach salze
nach fleisch vnd nach smalze.¹

Such an agreement is, of course, by no means conclusive evidence of derivation; the case is strengthened somewhat by the fact that the idea expressed in both connections is the same. Then, too, the König vom Odenwalde probably took the idea of the man's lying awake at dawn and worrying about his poverty from the Martina, and merely dropped the idea of the nagging, weeping wife, a thought which would not fit in a humorous poem of a bachelor's belated love affairs. Herein lies also the reason for a slight change in the treatment of the theme of matrimony; the poem recounts the difficulties of housekeeping, while matrimony itself is in the not-too distant future. Another interesting similarity hinges on the Königs complaint that an unpleasant smokiness pervades his home; the same thought occurs in the Martina, where a statement is ascribed to Solomon to the effect that an unpleasant smokiness in the home is one of three things certain to drive a husband away.²

VI

To the growing array of southern texts must be added a song popular about 1400, describing the wedding of Metz and Betz, a peasant couple. An early version, showing Alemannic characteristics, is Von metzen hochzit, to be found in a Donaueschingen manuscript of the year 1443.³ Although the theme is a peasant wedding, a good portion of the poem is devoted to a listing of domestic articles. The plot is simple. Metz and Betz are in love. The relatives assemble and formally ask them if they wish to marry.

¹Von dem husrate, vss. 13-14; Martina, sec. 131, vss. 41-2.

²The idea of smoke in the home is quite common since Wolfram, as Schröder points out. However, in the Martina and Von dem husrate the smoke is an unpleasant feature, in sharp contrast with its occurrence in Gudrun and Parzival, where smoke is a desired sign that food is being prepared and all is well in the household. See A. Taylor, "Sunt tria damna domus," Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde, XXIV (1925), 130-146.

³J. Laszberg, Lieder Saal (St. Gall, 1846), III, 397-417; C. Haltaus, Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin (Quedlinburg, 1840), pp. 259-264, No. 67, from a manuscript of 1471 in Prague; also a manuscript in Stuttgart, cpq. 69, foll. 38-53. An old print of the song, entitled Von Mayr Betzen vnd von seiner Metzen, is lost; see Germania, XIII (1899), 505; K. Geuther, Studien zum Liederbuch der Klara Hätzlerin (Halle, 1899), pp. 36, 149-50.

The young couple assents, and are pronounced man and wife without benefit of clergy. The relatives decide to hold the wedding celebration that same evening, and prepare a meal consisting of a dish of beets and bacon, gruel, white bread, wine, and sausage. The dowry of the bride consists of various animals: a cow, calf, pig, sheep, and goat; the groom presents his wife with several yokes of land and measures of oats, and someone gives the couple a rooster and fourteen hens. After the dinner the bride and groom are led to their bed. In the morning the groom gives the bride the conventional gift of a sow. The wedding guests again appear, and accompany the couple to church; after the services, the celebration begins anew. The guests shower gifts on the happy couple, mostly poor and shabby articles: a mirror, spinning reel, jug, comb, vessel for water, cloak, old shoe, an unwashed pair of trousers, a pot of beans, a sick hen, a book, and money. The guests amuse themselves with dancing and eating, and eventually become embroiled in a general fight, which is stopped by the more sober villagers.

The song contains several distinct lists of domestic articles: the dowry, the property of the groom, the food served at the dinner, and the wedding gifts. Many of these things have been mentioned before in one or more of the previous household poems. Vague echoes of each are discernable, but an attempt to establish connections shows that it is impossible to narrow the field to any single source. Von metzen hochzit appears to be an outgrowth of a South German conventional genre of household poetry. The theme of the song is a wedding; this no doubt suggested borrowing the listing of utensils from the matrimony motif in poems like the Martina and Von dem husrate. Thus the poem represents an offshoot from the main stream in the history of the household poem.

VII

Closely related to Von metzen hochzit is another South German work written at about the same time, namely Heinrich Wittenweiler's Ring.¹ Der Ring is one of the most unusual works of the fifteenth century. The author intended his work to encompass the

¹E. Wiessner, Heinrich Wittenweilers Ring (Leipzig, 1931); L. Bechstein (ed.), Der Ring von Heinrich Wittenweiler ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," XXIII; Stuttgart, 1851).

course of the entire world, and to teach one what to do and not to do. It is divided into three parts: one teaching "hofieren," how to behave like a knight at court; a second, how to care for body and soul; and a third, how to conduct oneself in times of war. The story is built around the wooing and winning of Mäczli Rürenzumph by the hero, Bertschi Triefnas. The lively tale does not proceed very far before one is struck by the satirical element--it is a parody on the court epic and the apparatus of chivalry. These peasants, with their ridiculous names, clumsily take part in such activities as jousting, and use the full courtly forms in their love-making. In this, one of the first of the comic heroic epics, the stupid peasantry get into all sorts of foolish scrapes; the wedding of Bertschi and Mäczli ends in a free-for-all riot, and eventually a war develops between two villages. The villagers, not to be outdone by the traditional epics, assume names of great nobles and have many heroes of the past, as well as supernatural beings, fight for them. In the grotesque ending all are butchered off except Bertschi.

Although often obscene according to our standards, the Ring is full of life and the spirit of the folk, and gives a fascinating cultural picture of the times. It is clearly a reaction against court poetry and a reflection of the rise of the peasant class. Possibly it was meant to be a satire on the war between Zurich and Constance.¹ Parody is, however, not the only purpose of the book; throughout all one discerns a vein of didacticism. The many religious details might lead one to suspect ecclesiastical authorship. Especially the second part of the work is didactic in tone.

Bertschi is contemplating marriage, and calls in his relatives and friends and asks them for advice; they give it lavishly. The men warn him against such a foolish step; the women urge him to go ahead. Schlindenspeck ("Swallow-the-bacon") comes with a doleful speech about the many things a bridegroom must have to set up housekeeping: money, bedding, utensils, furnishings for the home, clothing, jewelry, food of various sorts like bread, wine, meat, and fish, and broad fields for raising grains and vegetables (sec. 18d). Toreleya answers that these things are not necessary if one has the right wife. A general discussion of

¹J. Nadler, "Wittenweiler?" Euphorion, XXVII (1926), 172. Wiessner rejects this.

marriage follows. Old Colman dwells on the trials connected with the rearing of children: washing diapers and bedding, and watching and caring for the young until they reach maturity (secs. 19b-20b). Straub, the apothecary, gives practical advice about the proper weight of clothing, the temperature and humidity of the home in winter, and the proper foods for various times of the year (secs. 26d-27d). Old Härtel Saichinkruog then describes the ideal home with plenty of hay, straw, corn, wood, wine, vegetables, beans, peas, and other foods; in the barnyard resounds the pleasant clamor of chickens and geese, and a good dog guards the homestead; and, above all, a good, industrious wife makes the beds and prepares cake and fish to suit her husband's taste, and in general manages the household efficiently (secs. 31b-32c).

Finally Bertschi makes up his mind, and soon he and his bride are sitting in front of their cottage to receive the gifts of the villagers--and what an array of things they receive! Fricz brings seven hens and a rooster, a piece of woolen cloth, a straw sack, and a cloak; Engelmar produces a dog, Ochsenchroph a cat named Vach, Colman a small kid, which he assures the bride will some day be a full-sized goat; Jächel brings a calf, Ottel a sick duck which he admittedly would rather have eaten himself; Straub gives some rare and potent herbs; Frü Lächdenman three needles, two spindles, and two diapers; Frü Elsbet a piece of cloth, and Snatereyna a sack and a pair of gloves. Other unnamed persons bring a broom-handle, a crock, vinegar jugs, a sieve, the cover to a saltcellar, a hat, dishes, plates, candlesticks, forks, spoons, -- and the author himself begins to weaken at this point and says there were many other things too numerous to mention.

The wedding dinner is served at once, and there is further enumerating. The peasants consume the few coarse foods in an uncouth, bestial manner. On the table are a tablecloth, a few vessels, glasses, and jugs, but no salt or knives. There are three kinds of bread, and the beverage is water. First are served nuts, apples, pears, and cheese, then a cooked dish of cabbage garnished with strips of bacon, and baked fish. The hungry guests, whose appetites are evidently only slightly satisfied by this fare, rise in a body and cry for wine, mead, and beer. The groom pleads with them, and explains that he has none, whereupon the peasants more or less playfully beat him up. The guests now demand ham and sausage, but all that Bertschi can scrape up at the last mo-

ment is a bucket of sour milk, which serves as liquor, and a few eggs. Then the dancing begins, and the meal is over.

Wittenweiler drew on surprisingly many sources for the materials for the Ring. He borrowed freely from the popular epic, fables, and stories of Neithart, and the copious didactic material so popular at the time. The physician's teachings about correct living are modelled on the pseudo-Aristotelian Secreta secretorum. The teachings about the correct management of the home, of greater interest to us, are based on De cura et modo rei familiaris by Bernard of Chartres and ascribed to St. Bernard in error.¹ This is a letter addressed to a knight Raimund, and is really a treatise on domestic economy. It does not list household utensils. It advocates living within one's means, watching those who administer one's property, wearing inexpensive clothing, and other principles so self-evident that they occur to anyone with ordinary common sense. The De cura bears little relation to the household poem; Bernard developed the idea of economy thoroughly, without becoming concrete enough to mention more than one or two common things incidentally.

Clearer of all is the influence of Von metzen hochzit on the Ring. The two works appeared only a few years apart. The comparatively short song (680 lines) served as an outline for the Ring; the relation is unmistakable: the order of events, the names, and the choice of words and phrases are in many cases identical.²

The Ring does not contain a unified household section, as did the earlier poems of this type. In this respect also it is much like Von metzen hochzit. From the latter work Wittenweiler took the materials for his list of wedding presents, but the other household articles mentioned were derived from other sources.

The Ring lists slightly more than one hundred articles, of which about fifty have appeared in earlier German household poetry. Of this number, twenty-five are evidently taken directly from Von metzen hochzit, which had listed approximately fifty. Forty of the words in the Ring have appeared in the Himilriche, Martina, and Von dem husrate. Of the ninety-two articles in the

¹E. Wiessner, Kommentar zu Heinrich Wittenweilers Ring (Leipzig, 1936), p. 182.

²E. Wiessner, "Das Gedicht von der Bauernhochzeit und Heinrich Wittenweilers Ring," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, L (1908), 225-279.

the latter poem, the Ring has twenty-three, or one-fourth; it is interesting to note that in the Ring are practically as many words from the König's work as from Von metzen hochzit, of which the author made such free use. That some relation exists between the Ring and Von dem husrate is not beyond the bounds of probability. The works of the König enjoyed an unexpectedly wide popularity.¹ The occurrence of the lines: "Wein und brot und fleisch und fisch" in the Ring, and "Vische, fleisch, brot und win" in Von dem husrate is interesting, but probably of no significance.

The Ring lists every article but one (dinkel, "spelt") of those in the Martina. Not only that; the list in the Martina, from lines 24-42:

Div eischent gersten vnde haber

 siv heischent im die bonen

 erweisen vnde lisiv

 Siv rufent aber nach salze,
 nach fleisch vnd nach smalze.

seems to have been condensed into a couplet in the Ring:

Bonen, erwess, gersten, smalz,
 Linsen, fleisch ze terren, salz.²

Fleisch, salz, and smalz do not occur in Von metzen hochzit.

These agreements might ordinarily be considered accidental were it not for the fact that other important elements in the poems are also identical. In every case the various objects mentioned, except gifts and dowry, are needed for the successful management of the household. The first thought is for articles of food. Of great significance is the idea of matrimony in these poems. The idea of the wedding, with its presents and articles of food, Wittenweiler took over intact from Von metzen hochzit. Thus the Ring owes part of its lists of domestic articles to an offshoot of the old household poem, for the older poems of this type, as we have seen, do not mention the wedding itself. On the other hand, the idea of the dark side of matrimony, with its worries about procuring house furnishings, Wittenweiler derives from the earlier household genre, in which this feature of matrimony plays an important role; if not directly from the Martina and Von

¹Schröder, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, LXXI, 114.

²Martina, vss. 24, 29, 31, 41-2; Ring, sec. 31c.

dem husrate, as evidence seems to indicate, then certainly from the South German tradition represented by those works.

It need not be a particularly disturbing thought that the Ring after all contains only a relatively small proportion of the words in any one previous household poem. One must remember, for example, that Wittenweiler uses only about one-half of the articles occurring in Von metzen hochzit, which doubtless served as his outline. The words he did not use are usually just as common as those used, and it is evident that he chose what fancy dictated from the large store of words offered by this South German conventional poetic genre.

VIII

The theme of a peasant wedding, with lists of domestic articles, appears also in a fifteenth-century Shrove-tide play entitled "Vastnachtspil vom Münch Berchtolt."¹ The monk Berchtolt announces that a prospective husband has finally been found for Hilla, a woman of questionable character. After considerable by-play, Berchtolt confers his blessing on the match, and appeals to those present for gifts for the couple. The greater portion of the play consists of lists of articles. The groom's father gives his son an old plow, horse, cow, and sow, a sack of straw, an old wagon, and an old bath-hat for Hilla; the bride's mother gives cloth, soiled trousers, and old chest and a cap for the groom. The bride's father brings a cradle, a table, and spinning equipment; faithful neighbors bring seven eggs and a hen, a goat, hat, spurs, spindle, butter-crock, spoon-holder, and the like. The content and structure of the play, as well as the shabby articles mentioned, are much like those of Von metzen hochzit; the play is probably a free reworking of the latter, and even contains a suggestion of the strife with which peasant weddings were supposed to end.

IX

Von metzen hochzit, the Ring, and the "Vastnachtspil vom Münch Berchtolt," insofar as they list domestic articles in connection with the theme of a wedding, constitute a digression in

¹A. v. Keller, Fastnachtspiele ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," XXX; Stuttgart, 1851), II, 571-579.

the history of the household poem. Returning once more to the main stream of the genre, one discovers a greatly increased production in the fifteenth century, particularly in the latter half. In view of the many different kinds of poetry in which rhymed lists of utensils appear, and the numerous editions of some of these works, this kind of poetry must have caught the public fancy.

As early as the fifteenth century, rhymed lists of household utensils found their way into German folksong. For example, the song Von dem Hausgeschirre,¹ written presumably between 1443 and 1447, consists of eleven stanzas of three couplets, the six lines varying according to a fixed scheme. The very first stanza strikes the keynote; the author morosely remarks:

Ich waisz ain orden darin ist mangem also we,
er ist vil leuten wol erkant und haist die e;
er ist so bitter und so scharf,
wann man so vil darzu bedarf
von hausgeschirre
wer aram in den orden kumt der wirt wol irre.

Then follows a lively picture of married life: if the man has dishes, he has no basket in which to keep them--that has disappeared long ago. If he has no pots or pans, worry and wailing enter the home. And where in the world is the spoon-holder? Really, one is better off at home with mother! In the same vein the poet bewails the lacking materials for spinning, the tools for the hearth, and the cooking utensils. He takes us out of doors and bemoans the pitchfork and other farming tools which are nowhere to be found, the missing plow, harness, wagon, and so on. In the barn are none of the animals which should be there. When the weather gets bad, no glass, nails, wood, or other materials for repairing the walls and roof can be found. In the house itself, one looks in vain for even tables and benches. Penury and misery are more often on the bill of fare than fish. And if the wretched man hasn't even a house of his own, all is hopeless; such an unfortunate must wander from inn to inn, an unwanted, ridiculed tramp.-- The tone of the poem is humorous; ever before one

¹Cod. Vat. 314, fol. 98. Upon this and a broadside in the Berlin library is based Uhland's song "Von dem Hausgeschirr," No. 273 in Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder (Stuttgart, 1881). Uhland's variations from Cod. Vat. 314 are slight and involve no household articles, except in orthography; see A. Thoma, Uhlands Volksliedersammlung (Stuttgart, 1929); W. Heiske, Ludwig Uhlands Volksliedersammlung ("Palaestra," CLXVII; Leipzig, 1929). The poem appears also in Haltaus, Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin, p. 42, from a manuscript in Prague written about 1470.

is the ridiculous figure of the hapless husband, staring helplessly and stupidly about for household articles which are never there, and scratching himself in disappointment.

Significant is, first, that matrimony is connected with the enumerating of utensils; secondly, that the articles are desirable but very hard to obtain--so difficult, in fact, that one can only wish for them in a hopeless sort of way; thirdly, that the order is similar to previous poems of the genre: the poet begins his recital in the kitchen, then takes one to other rooms and finally to the barnyard and fields.

The vocabulary of this poem is novel. It lists 87 articles, of which 31 have appeared before, a remarkably small number in view of the 230 different articles that have appeared in previous household poems. From the very beginning, the authors of these poems show a curious, perhaps intentional avoidance of repetition. In all poems studied so far, including Von dem Hausgeschirre, the total number of objects is 418, the number of different objects, 286. The great number of new words is no doubt partly due to a desire to be original. In Von dem Hausgeschirre, many of the new words belong more properly to building activities. Then, too, there are many compound words in the poem, such as wischtuch, mistgabel, and schüsselkorb, the separate elements of which have appeared before. The vocabulary of the poem is essentially South German in character, as was that of earlier examples of the genre. The occurrence of a tisch: fisch rhyme in this poem and in the Ring may safely be ascribed to coincidence; a closer relation is not demonstrable. Of great significance is, however, an agreement in rhyme between Von dem Hausgeschirre and Von dem husrate:

Blasbalg, trifus, ribisen,
herumbe muz ich grisen.

Peutelvaz, ribeysen,
in der jugend musz er greysen
vor bittern sorgen.¹

Ribisen is a South German word, somewhat rare in Middle High German, meaning "grater." An agreement in rhyme, in such an unusual expression, cannot be coincidence in two relatively short poems devoted to the same theme. The repetition of such peculiar terminology seems to point to a South German tradition of household poetry.

¹Von dem husrate, vss. 33-4; Von dem Hausgeschirre, vss. 27-9.

X

Very similar in thought and expression is another poem of the fifteenth century entitled: Von dem hauskummer,¹ in a manuscript in Karlsruhe. This poem also calls matrimony an order:

Was Ordens got geschaffen hat
In der werlt an aller stat,
So ist keyn herter, dan der meyn,
Da jnnen ich teglich erschein.
Mit rewen vnd mit sorgen
den abent vnd den morgen
geschicht mir in dem orden wee,
der ist geheiszen die ee.

The poet complains that he has no calf, goat, sheep, pig, chickens, geese, or ducks. Several scenes remind one of previous poems:

alz dan enslauffen sein
mein frauwe vnd mein kyndelein,
so lige ich vnd slauffe nicht
vnd gedenk: wie wee dir geschicht
morgen vmb die pauch speis.

The maid comes to him in the morning and asks for food; he gives her a cloak to take to the Jew. The boards in the bed are used for firewood. The wife reminds her husband that there is no salt or bread in the house. In church, the poor man can pray only for the welfare of his body; when he comes home, he sits down with his family to a bare table, and finally pawns another coat to provide wine. The troubles of housekeeping are overwhelming; the poet says of poverty, "Er kan die jungen machen grae!" While but few utensils are mentioned in this poem, the ideas are like those of Von dem Hausgeschirre, which was written at about the same time, and Von dem husrate, a later version of which found its way to Karlsruhe.

XI

A poem which Theodor Hampe cited in connection with household poetry is a Meisterlied composed in the latter part of the fifteenth century by Lionhard Nunnenbeck of Nürnberg.² Nunnenbeck was a linen-weaver in Nürnberg; his chief claim to fame rests on

¹A. v. Keller, "Gedichte über das Hauskreuz," Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit, 1886, pp. 197-8, 223-5; ibid., Alt-deutsche Handschriften (Tübingen, 1864), p. 4.

²T. Hampe, "Lionhard Nunnenbeck," Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, XI (1895), 176-177.

the fact that he was the teacher of Hans Sachs. He died in 1513.

The poem is composed in Sixt Beckmesser's Korweis, and begins, "Was sol ein häus lustig gezirt."¹ The lines vary greatly in length according to a fixed scheme, and the rhyme forms an intricate pattern in the best tradition of the school. In content the poem is somewhat enigmatic, if not incoherent. It propounds the question: Of what good is a house, be it fitted out ever so beautifully with several rooms, fine woods, and a tight roof, if it has no firm foundation? The slightest breeze will topple it over, and all the labor and expense will have been in vain. And if the house has a good foundation, but a poor roof, what is it good for? No one will care to live in it. What kind of house would it be without rooms or kitchen, or with such a poor stove that the house is constantly filled with smoke?-- The song continues in this vein at some length. The author professes to be giving advice to those who wish to build a house; still the whole song seems to be a riddle, and ends with a question.

The song concerns itself more with the home building than with utensils; only one domestic article, the stove, is mentioned. However, the song reminds one a good deal of previous household poems. The idea of negation is prominent: several very essential parts of the building are lacking. The mention of smoke at once reminds one of the passage in the Martina. One will also recall that the last stanza of Von dem Hausgeschirre reviews several missing parts of a building. It is possible that Nunnenbeck's song is a variation of the household poem, an application of the same theme to the building proper instead of the household.

XII

One of the most popular household poems was Hans Folz's didactic poem or Spruchgedicht entitled Von allem Hawszrath, an early edition of which (Z.4267 in Berlin) is reproduced in facsimile in Theodor Hampe's Gedichte vom Husrat aus dem XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert.²

¹Cod. Berol. Germ. 414, fol. 97, the Naglersche Meisterliederhandschrift, one of the most interesting manuscripts in the field of Meistergesang; it is a collection of songs made probably by Hans Sachs on his travels.

²"Drucke und Holzschnitte des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts in getreuer Nachbildung," Strassburg, 1899, Anhang II.

Hans Folz was by vocation a barber in Nürnberg. Like many of the more prominent artisans in Nürnberg at the time, he had literary and musical aspirations, which found expression in the composition of Meisterlieder and other types of poetry, and Shrove-tide plays or Fastnachtspiele.

Von allem Hawszrath begins with a terse announcement of the theme:

Welch armer sich zu d ee wil lencken
Solt sich alweg vor wol bedencken
Was man als haben mus ins haus
Des ich ein teil will ecken aus.

The poem is well organized; it is divided into several distinct parts according to the various rooms into which the author takes the reader. These main divisions, together with a few outstanding articles in each case, are as follows: the living-room or Stube boasts chairs, benches, and settees, a tablecloth and napkins, various glasses and vessels for beer and wine, candlesticks, pictures on the wall, a mirror, a playing-board with dice and cards, and a bird cage. In the kitchen we see pots, pans, skillets, a tripod, bellows, a spit, a kettle-holder, a chopping-board, a salt-cellar, a vinegar jug, forks, a broom, a stove, dishes of wood and metal, and tools for the hearth. The pantry or Speyszkamer contains bread, salt, fish, meat, cake, rice, lentils, grain, vegetables, barnyard fowl such as chickens, geese, pigeons, and ducks, bacon, eggs, and cupboards and bins for bread and spices. The bedroom contains a soft bed,--the need for sound rest is touched upon lightly in passing,-- a straw pallet, pillows, bolsters, blankets, pieces of clothing, the silverware which is kept here for safekeeping, and food delicacies like Pfefferkuchen and confections. The bath is fitted out with vessels for water, a bath-sponge, washrags, towels, a comb, bath hats, bath sacks, and pillows. Then follows a miscellaneous section listing articles not falling under the above heads: tools for the man, spinning materials for the woman; the living beings in the household, the servants, dogs, and cats, and finally the armor and weapons for defense. Things necessary for covering the floor, or for use in the trades, Folz admittedly skips.

The author now enters a discussion of the later difficulties of the married couple. The wife is to become a mother, and the couple begins to buy children's wear and other things they had not even dreamed about before they were married. The cradle,

which takes up half the living-room, is in everybody's way. Then we hear of the usual commotion surrounding the birth of the child: the gathering of the neighbors' wives, the suspense "Ob es ein sye sey oder ein ehr," and the baptism. New demands on the family purse drive the young husband to the Jew, with disastrous results to the finances of the little family. The evils of running to the money-lender and paying exorbitant rates of interest are painted most vividly; the author says he is speaking from experience. In conclusion, he directs little bits of advice to young people: the young man should learn to read and write, for only then can he look after his own interests intelligently; above all, he should learn a trade so that he may support his family honorably and comfortably. The girl is to be modest, sober, chaste, and practical in the guidance of household affairs.

Folz is here describing the type of household with which he was most familiar; it is the home of the poor, but not destitute, Nürnberg artisan:

Welchs man den reychen als czu mist
Do von mein meynung hie nit ist.

Hans Folz mentions his name at the end, but gives no date or place. He is known to have printed some of his literary works himself, and in view of the many cases of illegibility of letters and words, and glaring errors in spelling, it is not improbable that the facsimile in Hampe is the first edition. The style of the clothing in the woodcut, which represents a young man and young woman conversing in the street, is of the early 1480's.

The poem evidently had considerable popular appeal, for there were several printings. The earliest known reprint was issued from the press of Max Ayrrer and Hans Perneck in Bamberg in 1493.¹ This edition contains six additional lines; after line four these lines are inserted:

In disem püch gar offenwar vnd schan
auch was man geseln vnd mait sol lernen lan.

and instead of the last two lines containing the name of Folz are appended four lines in a religious vein, promising an honorable life and a blessed end to all who follow this advice. There are some slight changes in wording, as geslecht for armer in line one; the vocabulary of utensils is unchanged, except in orthography.

¹A. Reifferscheidt, "Zur Folzbibliographie," Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, VIII (1877), 185-6; Hampe, p. 14.

The poem is more sharply divided into sections, each having a superscription. Another old printing was that of Hans Stuchs of Nürnberg,¹ presumably in 1520. Still another edition, without date, is in the Hamburg Library; the poem is one of thirteen selections in an 8mo or 12mo volume.² Except for spelling, and slight improvements in meter in one or two lines, this does not differ from the first edition. Although the works in this volume appear to have been printed as independent works, no names or dates are specified; all were issued from the same press, most likely one in Augsburg. This Augsburg printing is based on Stuchs' edition of 1520, and may have appeared a few years later.³ An old print at Wolfenbüttel, without names or dates, differs from the first edition only in spelling and the substitution of an occasional word to improve the meter.

The popularity of the poem is not undeserved; it has literary merit. Folz proves himself to be a very practical man, when he interlards his poem with happily chosen proverbs and useful hints:

Dan lern ein hantwerck was er thu
 Darmit man sich bege mit ern
 Vnd weib vnd kint wisz czu nern
 Vnd dien getreulich wu er sey
 Im wont der nucz zu letst selbst bey
 Vnd wie es gee uff ader ab
 Das er ein weil gewandert hab
 Vmb das er etwas bring czu lant
 Das sunst darhyn ist vnbeant.⁴

Whenever the listing tends to become tiresome, Folz enlivens the recital with his hearty humor and wit:

In die kamer ein wiegen banck
 Darauff sich hebt dz nachtigal gesanck.⁵

¹G. E. Waldau, Neue Beyträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg (Nürnberg, 1791), pp. 160-174. There was a copy in a collected volume of small format in the Ebnersche Bibliothek, which formerly was in Nürnberg, but has since been scattered. An imperfect version is printed in J.A.Götz, Hans Sachs (Nürnberg, 1830), IV, 152-162.

²Printed in A. v. Keller, Fastnachtspiele ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," XXX; Stuttgart, 1851), III, 1215-1222, 1464.

³Hampe, p. 15.

⁴Hampe, Anhang II, p. 14, vss. 280-288.

⁵Ibid., p. 9, vss. 195-6.

The household theme evidently held some attraction for Hans Folz, for he reworked the material in a Meisterlied. This bears the superscription, "In Jorg Schillers meyen weis 9 lieder," and begins, "Ich gib ein ler dem jüngen man."¹ Although the Meisterlied is not expressly credited to Folz, its many agreements in words and phrases as well as in the order of enumeration with Folz's Von allem Hawszrath leave little doubt as to the authorship.²

Contrary to the usual practice, the Spruchgedicht was written prior to the Meisterlied. The forced, wooden style of the latter, as well as its abrupt ending, indicate derivation from some earlier work. Then, too, the type of the printing, and the style of clothing shown on the woodcut, date the Spruchgedicht quite definitely in the early 1480's. A Meistersinger group in Nürnberg at this early date can scarcely be conceived of.³

The introduction to the Meisterlied, which is much longer than in the Spruchgedicht, speaks half-humorously of poor but rash young men who marry and fall into poverty, and who should be forewarned to consider, before marriage, the appalling amount of household equipment required to set up a household properly. Then the list begins, starting with the kitchen. Nearly every line contains an echo of the Spruchgedicht. The arrangement under the heads of the various rooms is retained, but the order in which the rooms are taken up varies considerably, and only a few articles are mentioned in each room. Near the end, one hears of the cares and expense of childbirth, and the poem ends suddenly in a series of vague and confused lines, scarcely intelligible without reference to the more explicit Spruchgedicht. The very last lines refer to the poverty in which the author languished for many years. In general, although the subject-matter is the same, the literary qualities of the Meisterlied are far below those of the poem upon which it is based.

These two household poems of Hans Folz bear the character-

¹Cod. Germ. 414, foll. 373b-375b, reprinted in Hampe, Anhang I; A. Dreyer, "Ein Lied von dem Hausrat des XV. Jahrhunderts," Volkskunst und Volkskunde, VII (1909), 49-53, has modernized spellings. Dreyer was evidently unaware of Hampe's edition.

²Hampe, pp. 10-14.

³Hampe, p. 11.

istic marks of the traditional poems of the genre. The household articles are all necessary and must be procured for the proper fitting out of a home. Definitely associated with the list is the idea of matrimony, one might call it the pessimistic side of married life, with its worries about prosaic things.

In some respects there are differences between Folz's and the earlier poems. One will recall that the lists usually begin with the kitchen, or articles of food. Folz's lists begin with chairs and the table, the tablecloth, the glasses for wine and beer, linen and napkins, and so forth, but these things are in the Stube. The kitchen proper, with its hearth and pots and pans, is relegated to second position. This is a reflection of a change in the social center of the home. The fifteenth-century burgher family spent most of its time in the Stube, the room in which was a stove and which was kept heated throughout the year. In Folz's poems the Stube has all the cozy touches suitable to the living-room of a home. Folz's emphasis on the bathroom and its contents likewise reflects the importance of the bath in the lives of the burghers at this time.

Another difference between these and earlier poems may be seen in the negative treatment. Folz begins by saying he will enumerate the household articles a married couple should have. Then he proceeds to describe an imaginary household, taking one from room to room and pointing out various things; thus, while the framework of the poem promises a list of lacking articles, the actual list takes on the characteristics of a positive inventory. Towards the end, it is interesting to note, Folz again reverts to the familiar negative theme: the lack of money and other articles drives the young man to the money-lender, and into serious difficulty.

The vocabulary of Folz's poems reveals the familiar tendency to use new articles. The Spruchgedicht contains some 300 articles, the Meisterlied 190, most of which were taken over directly from the Spruchgedicht. The latter lists about 200 new articles; considering the great length of the poem (over 300 lines), this is not unusual. Many of the new words are compounds, often using elements that have appeared before. For example, Folz has nine compounds with bad-, e.g., badschwamm, badhut, badsack.

Of the 300 words in the Spruchgedicht, 110 have appeared in one or more of the works studied, in the following distribution:

60 out of 100 in the Ring, 36 out of 87 in Von dem Hausgeschirre, and 54 out of 92 in Von dem husrate. Although many words are common to Folz's poem and the Ring, this is misleading, for they are words so common that their use is indecisive. One looks in vain for indications of relationship between Folz and Wittenweiler; at the very most one might point to the combination "salz und wädel" in the Ring and "salz fasz ein fliegen wedel" in Folz's Spruchgedicht.

The rhymes common to Folz and other household poems, e.g. krüge: genüge in Von dem husrate (vss. 17-18) and krugk: gnugk in Folz's Spruchgedicht (vss. 133-4), gisfas: glas in Von dem husrate (vss. 43-4) and Folz's Meisterlied (stanza 1), and tinsen: linsen in Von dem husrate (vss. 97-8) and in Folz's Spruchgedicht czinsen: linsen (vss. 65-66) are of little significance in proving relationship. More interesting are collocations as kol, mangolt in Folz's Spruchgedicht (vs. 69) and Manegolt und kappus in Von dem husrate (vs. 89). Kappus is white cabbage; Folz uses kol, which had begun to supplant kappus. Mangolt occurs only in these two household poems. Folz and the König vom Odenwalde also sum up the living beings in the household in a group; instead of the horse, Folz mentions a bird.

Clearer of all are the similarities between Folz's Von allem Hawszrath and Von dem Hausgeschirre, which had appeared only a few years before:

Von allem Hawszrath:

Es hilft kein hintern orn krawen.
Erst hebt sich grisgramen der
 czen.
Das ym das blut aus den negeln
 dring.
Töpf sturtzen kessel pfannen
Ob man nicht teglich drum wil
 czannen.¹

Von dem Hausgeschirre:

Er kratzt sich über dem nabel.
So hebt sich grein und zannen.
Erst hebt sich grein und kerren.
Vor angsten schwindet im das
 fleisch bisz auf die negel.
Auch hat er nit ein pfannen
so hebt sich gremen und zannen.²

In both the Meisterlied of Folz, and Von dem Hausgeschirre, garen rock rhymes with trog. This great similarity of ideas, expressions, and rhymes indicates that Hans Folz received the incentive to write household poems from earlier examples of the genre.

¹Von allem Hawszrath, vss. 242, 223, 259, 33-34.

²Von dem Hausgeschirre, vss. 34, 10, 16, 35-6, 9-10.

The adoption of the household theme by Hans Folz marks not only the period of greatest popularity of the genre, but also the beginning of a change in treatment, uses, and application. After the beginning of the sixteenth century, despite the popularity of this poetry, new production begins to lag. Several poems of the first half of the century may be termed household poems, it is true, but radical changes in character and make-up and use of the genre become more and more apparent. Gradually this or that characteristic feature of the household poem fell away completely. Listings of household utensils are included in poetry treating an ever widening circle of themes. Already as the first quarter of the sixteenth century such lists, greatly abbreviated, of course, found their way into folksong, in connection with a wide variety of themes. They began to be used in New Year's greetings, calendars, and the innumerable housekeeping and cook-books till the early eighteenth century.¹

It is a curious fact that later production is restricted to Bavaria, and almost exclusively to Nürnberg. Perhaps the adoption of the theme by Hans Folz set the style in the city. At any rate, the subsequent household poems are either composed in Nürnberg, or show decided influence of some Bavarian composition.

It is striking that Nürnberg housewives were inordinately proud of their homes, and especially of their kitchens. In a cook-book of 1703, Die so kluge als künstliche von Arachne und Penelope getreulich unterwiesene Hausz-Halterin, we read of an old Nürnberg custom of maintaining Prang-Küchen, that is, separate kitchens, never used to prepare food, but only as a show-place for exhibiting fancy china, tinware, and fine utensils and fittings. To this custom we no doubt owe many of the old utensils now in museums in Southern Germany. Further evidence for the love of the household may be seen in the many Nürnberg doll-houses and their miniature furniture, some dating from the sixteenth century.² Thus it is probably not accidental that Nürnberg should be

¹Johann Coler, Oeconomia oder Hausbuch (Wittenberg, 1592), describes and discusses many utensils from Folz's lists.

²O. Lauffer, "Herd und Herdgeräte in den nürnbergischen Küchen der Vorzeit," Mitteilungen aus dem germanischen National-Museum, 1900, 129-137. For a description of the doll-house of Anna Köferlin in Nürnberg, see p.62 below.

the ultimate source of most household poems after the time of Hans Folz.

The first use to which lists of household utensils were put was the drawing of a household poem in picture form, made about 1480. The only extant original copy of this single-page print is in the Kupferstichkabinett in Munich.¹ The print is signed "hanns paur." Schreiber believes him to be the Nürnberg artist of the same name, who was active at the middle of the century. The style of clothing in the woodcut, however, fixes the date with fair accuracy in the period 1475-80; Hampe agrees with W. Schmidt that the artist is "Junghans Priffmaler," who in 1472 put out the xylographic Book of the Antichrist, and is probably not to be confused with the Nürnberg artist.

The print is rectangular in shape; the center is taken up by a rectangular picture of a well-dressed couple sitting on large stones in rather hilly, picturesque country. The young man in a large plumed hat is handing his fiancée a ring. Just above the picture are four long lines of rhymed verse, warning young people who contemplate marriage that many utensils are necessary in the home, not even a tenth of which can be pictured here. As a frame around this center picture are twenty-four small rectangles, each containing a sketch of several articles.

Most of the articles can easily be identified. In the eight pictures in the top row are a bed, bedding, Nachtopf, drying rack for tall vessels, liquor casks, basket, table, crock, vase, water dispenser with faucet, towel, pots, skillet, sieve, bellows, tripod, andirons, and tools. On either side of the center picture are sketches of vessels, spinning materials, comb, saltcellar, vegetables, armor, and weapons. The bottom row of eight pictures contains spurs, garden tools, filled sacks, large water-containers, sausages on a rack, eggs, cheese, wood, flint, and steel. This set of pictures undoubtedly belongs to the same tradition as the poems of the household genre.

The underlying thought is that of matrimony: the picture may show a young engaged couple, but the print as a whole deals

¹Reproduced in Hampe, p. 16; Alwin Schultz, Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert (Wien, 1892), I, fig. 151; W. L. Schreiber, Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au XVe siècle (Berlin, 1892), No. 1991; W. Schmidt, Inkunabeln des Holzschnitts aus dem Münchener Kupferstichkabinett (Munich, 1887).

with the prosaic, everyday needs of the married couple. The order of articles is also the same as in the household poems; a person would look at the top row first, which contains dishes and kitchen utensils exclusively, except the very first picture on the left, which shows a bedroom. The prominence of the bed is no doubt due to the theme of matrimony.

When one examines specific details it becomes clear that this woodcut bears greater similarity to Folz's poems than to the previous household poems. According to Hampe, the style of the clothing in the woodcut points to the period 1475-80; the type, and the style of clothing on the title-page of Folz's Von allem Hawszrath suggest the first years of the 1480's. Since this evidence is of doubtful value for determining dates a year or two apart, and moreover does not exclude the possibility of contemporary authorship ca. 1480, it seems far more probable that the single-page print was made after the appearance of Folz's poem, and is based upon it. This contention is borne out by the fact that many things appear on the woodcut which have appeared in no previous household poem of which we know, but which do occur in Von allem Hawszrath. Then, too, at least one article, the kandelbrett (a kind of drying-rack for tall vessels), appears on the picture and in Folz's poem, but not in the others. The four lines of verse on the woodcut express the very same thought as the opening lines of Folz's Von allem Hawszrath:

Were zu der Ee greyffen welle Der tracht das er dar zu bestelle
 Haussrat das er nit mangel hab Hye merck du dirn vnd iunger knob
 Wiltu dich hausshaltens nemen an So beacht was du darzu must han
 In ein hauss gehort als vil haussrat Das der zehenteil nit hye
 gemalet stat.

It will be remembered that in the latter part of his poem Folz addresses himself directly to the armer gesell and the dyrn. Some connection between the woodcut and Folz's poem is certain; undoubtedly this set of pictures is based on Folz's popular work.

Similar pictures of household utensils and foods are to be found on the later household-charts or Haushaltungstafeln. These were wooden tablets, with an eyelet at one end to facilitate hanging on the wall, upon which were painted domestic articles in vertical rows, with blank spaces between rows for the notations of the housewife. Some charts picture articles of clothing, others utensils and foods. One such chart (H.G.1742 in the Germanisches National-Museum in Nürnberg) from the seventeenth century lists

food almost exclusively. On one side, in well-ordered groups, are cuts of beef, mutton, pork, various fish and sea-foods, game, vessels of lard, and berries; on the other side are vegetables in great variety, bread, nuts, fruit in baskets, and in the last square wooden cooking spoons, brooms, wood, matches, and flints. Another chart (H.G.1377) has articles on one side only, but the content and arrangement are the same; at the end are large spoons, wood, brooms, and matches. It is significant that Hanns Paur's woodcut, which contains many foods, also ends with wood, flint, and steel. All the charts of which we know are South German. The first reference to one occurs in the Zimmersche Chronik;¹ the chart, in the possession of a woman in a monastery in southern Swabia in the early sixteenth century, aroused great curiosity, hence must have been a rarity. These charts probably originated and were used most extensively in Nürnberg, for there are three such miniature charts in Nürnberg doll-houses dating from the seventeenth century.²

The first part of the sixteenth century saw the printing of many pictures showing household utensils and furnishings. The kitchen was a favorite theme. E. Diederichs, Deutsches Leben der Vergangenheit in Bildern (Jena, 1908), reproduces several kitchen scenes (Nos. 572-578) made in the first half of the sixteenth century, some showing cooks and maids in front of the hearth, busily engaged at their duties. The amount of detail in these pictures varies; in only a few is there an obvious effort to be complete and show everything possibly belonging in the kitchen. Although these pictures are probably not directly related to the household poem, it is striking that many, if not most of them, originated in Bavaria.³

When Folz's poems were coming out, much literature was

¹K. Barack (ed.), Zimmersche Chronik ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, XCIII; Tübingen, 1869), p. 142.

²H. Bösch, "Die Haushaltungstafeln im germanischen National-Museum," Mitteilungen aus dem germanischen National-Museum, 1899, pp. 1-11.

³Cf. two pictures by Jost Amman in M. Rumpolt's Ein new Kochbuch, 1587; Nürnbergisches Kochbuch, 1734; Oeconomus Prudens et legalis, oder Allgemeiner Klug- und Rechts-verständiger Haus-Vatter, 1702.. See O. Lauffer, "Herd und Herdgeräte in den Nürnbergschen Küchen der Vorzeit," Mitteilungen aus dem germanischen National-Museum, 1900, pp. 129-137, 165-185; 1901, pp. 10-29, 65-77.

being written on phases of housekeeping not involving utensils. One such work appeared in 1477 entitled Ein hussrat in ein guot Jare, a long prose dialog similar in tone to the Ackermann aus Böhmen, containing pious observations and exhortations about matrimony, housekeeping, rules of life, and so forth. The dialog encompasses the entire lifetime of a man, from the founding of a household till his death. At the beginning the man states: "Ich will hushalten." The response is, "Betracht ob din erlich gült vnd gebruch solichs liden mögen." Near the end, "Ich lass weib vnd kind vnd muoz sterben"; the answer is, "Ist niemandt vor dir gestorben?" The dialog is full of proverbs and the wisdom of the folk, and the language powerful. No household utensils are mentioned except in purely incidental fashion. This didactic poem was as popular as Folz's; it went through many editions, and even appeared in Danish and Swedish, between 1477 and 1600.¹

XIV

Rhymed lists of household utensils were at times put to rather strange uses. Such a list appears in a Badschenkengedicht written near the end of the fifteenth century.² Till the middle of the sixteenth century, regular visits to the bath figured prominently in the social life of the German burghers. Since the manager of the bathing establishment often placed only the bath proper, and bare living quarters, at the disposal of his guests, these had to bring along the various domestic articles they wanted in addition to the bathing equipment.³ It was also customary to give little bath-gifts to one's friends on their departure for the bath. The poem in question undoubtedly accompanied such gifts on one occasion. The author and addressees are unknown.

The poem begins with a gracious wish: 'May all good things come to you as you enjoy the bath. Last night we heard that you

¹J. Bolte, Alemannia, N.F. II (1901), V-VIII; Hampe, p. 25. For texts of this dialog see Alemannia, XVI (1888), 207-211; Diederichs, p. 48; Schreiber, II, 1989.

²A. Hoffmann-Krayer, "Ein Badschenkengedicht aus der Wende des XV. Jahrhunderts," Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde, XIV (1910), 247-250.

³A. Martin, Deutsches Badewesen in vergangenen Zeiten (Jena, 1908), pp. 18, 264, 324 ff.

need several pieces of household equipment, so we gathered a few and are sending them by this messenger; take care in unwrapping, that the glasses aren't broken.' In the long list that follows, there are enough utensils to set up a complete household, and only a few bath articles. Kitchen utensils predominate: glasses, silverware, linen, a dozen spoons, tripod, spit, many pots and pans, bedsheets, and blankets, twenty plates, a dozen serving dishes, six metal platters, and the like; for bathing there are a comb, tub, scissors, mirror, basket, lye-sack, shoes, and sheets. In conclusion, the author apologizes for not coming himself, and promises to visit his friends if he can get away from his business.

This poem, a greeting card accompanying gifts, is an adaptation of the household poem to another theme. The idea of matrimony has fallen away; the articles are lacking in a sense, but the donor is at the same time supplying them. The poem reveals its ultimate derivation in the character of the articles mentioned: these are not bath gifts, they are household utensils pure and simple, beginning with kitchen utensils and including things like scores of dishes, and heavy iron tools for the hearth, which must have been rather unusual gifts to give a person on his way to the bath! The vocabulary is essentially that of Folz's Von allem Hawazrath, although it is much shorter. Folz's poem had been the first to place emphasis on the various articles of the bath. Direct derivation from Folz's poem is unlikely; none of the rhymes are the same, and there is only one distinctive grouping of articles (soup-spoon and saltcellar) common to both. A few words are novel: tresznye probably is a mixture of pulverized herbs used as a spread for bread; and matte, a Middle German word meaning "curdled milk," here must mean "cheese," for it is carried in baskets.¹

XV

Because of the great similarity of ideas, it is but natural that the household theme, with its lists of lacking utensils, should be incorporated in songs about beggars and songs of poverty. These songs were produced in great number after the middle of the fifteenth century. Such a poem, written in southern Germany in the

¹Hoffmann-Krayer, Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde, XIV, 249, n. 1.

latter part of the century, is Hans Junger's Ain spruch von der armut.¹ This is a complaint to Poverty and begins:

Ich bin der werlt so gar ein tor
das sagt mir mancher vor.

The unhappy poet sings bitterly:

Armut hat mich besessen,
Armut ich kan dein nit vergessen
Wann ich bin dir sicher nit holt.
.....
Armut hat ir gezelt
Auf geschlagen bei meinem haus.

Poverty dogs his footsteps and holds some power over him. He is practically nude; he has a pair of shoes, but no shirt or cloth. His wife has neither cloak, apron, nor coat. There is no wood for a fire; a haller he has must go for taxes; in his sack are neither gold nor money. He must borrow spoons and pans with which to cook. His home is like an empty crate. Some of his creditors have even entered his home to take whatever they could get, but after examining his empty purse and battered straw pallet, they took an old coverlet as security. Now the wretch must till other people's fields to earn his livelihood; whenever he has money, it melts in his hand, and he can only pray for deliverance from his miserable lot.-- He loves wine, and his troubles are probably due to too frequent visits to the tap-room. The social position of the man must have been of the very lowest.

The theme of the lamentation is poverty, and only a score of ordinary household utensils are listed, scattered throughout the rather long poem, which extends well over 100 lines in all versions. The difficulties with creditors remind one of Folz, but other features of the household poem, such as the order and emphasis on matrimony, have been changed.

¹Printed from a Wolfenbüttel manuscript, G.18.12 Aug., foll. 255b-257b, in A. von Keller, Fastnachtspiele, pp. 1349-1352, 1357. Watermarks in other pages of the manuscript may be dated 1460-83; the place of origin is most likely the extreme southern part of Germany. Other versions are to be found in Munich, cgm 270, fol. 55a, and in Weimar, O. 145, fol. 26b. The Weimar text has twelve additional lines about poverty at the beginning: "Ist armut ein er, so pin ich ein grosser her," etc. The seventh last line in the Wolfenbüttel text reads: "Hanns Junger gesprochen hot," in the Munich version: "Hanns Raminger gesprochen hot." The Munich version may be correct; the name fits better in the line, and otherwise the text is better; however, it erroneously ascribes two other selections to Raminger. The Weimar text, which otherwise is like that in Munich, omits this line.

Hanns Junger's poem is much like another written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century entitled: Ein new lied in des brembergers thon,¹ a single-page print without names or date of origin. In the upper left-hand corner of the print is a woodcut of a man in a plumed hat with a sword at his side, and a woman with a baby in her arms. The poem consists of three stanzas of seventeen verses. Here again Armut is personified:

Mich fragt armut wa ich ir wer hin entrunnen
gen eedingen da halt
ich hausz in ainer leren kisten.
Nun sey got gelobt das du so wol hast zu genommen
wie magstu dich des winters kalt
zu eedingen gefristen.

The poet answers ironically that he has two vessels of water, plenty of fresh air, and a house full of nothing. He buys two spoons for an egg; he has an old dish and a basket; his bed, on which he has lain for the year, is scattered about. Then, with biting sarcasm, he gives thanks to the Roman emperor, who generously lets him warm himself at his own fire, if he can find wood, who permits him to buy at any market he wishes, who has furnished his home so well, and who does not deny him water. For all these magnificent favors the poet promises to remain his servant, and prays that the emperor, who can give the boon of peace to cities and princes, may live long, for one may now safely carry a bushel of thorns and not run the risk of being robbed! This poem is primarily a tirade directed against the Roman emperor, and a complaint about prevailing social and economic conditions.

In this poem the listing of utensils, if one may call it that, is fragmentary and positive. Then, too, matrimony may be implied in the woodcut, but the idea does not appear in the text. It is evident that this poem represents the genre in a rather advanced stage of disintegration, and its application to an entirely different theme.

Many of the ideas expressed here remind one of Hanns Junger's complaint to Poverty. Both poets call their homes "empty boxes," and complain of the poorness of their beds. Both would gladly make a fire, if they had wood. The poems also contain

¹Yd.7801.47 in Berlin; A. Kopp, Bremberger-Gedichte ("Quellen und Forschungen zur deutschen Volkskunde, II; Wien, 1908), p.42; referred to in L. Uhland, Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage (Stuttgart, 1869), IV, 247-8.

frequent prayers and lamentations addressed to the Deity.

XVII

A poem which may with more justice be termed a household poem is Der Spruch Johannis On Sorg, in an Augsburg manuscript.¹ No date or place is specified, but internal evidence points to Nürnberg, and about the year 1510. The poem opens with a brief introduction, and plunges at once into a listing of utensils:

Nun hörend! ich will eüch wissen lan,
Warumb ich nicht wil hausz han.
Da müsz ich han angst und not
Unnd in dem hausz han win unnd brot
Unnd darzu fleisch unnd fisch
Grün und dürr auf dem tisch
Unnd darzu ayer unnd schmalz,
Habermel unnd auch saltz,
Hiersz, erbis, linsen unnd bonen
Und darzu den diensten lonen.

Everything is listed in grand disarray:

Vil windla unnd ain wegen,
Ain schiestul unnd ain spiegel,
Spetzry saffran unnd prendten,
Hiern, gänsz, schwein unnd endten.²

The conclusion is likewise short:

Darzu wär mir nit yederman holdt,
Wenn ich das nit alles hett unnd tädt,
So wär ich den lütten unwerd,
Also lasz ich es bestan
Unnd wil darumb nit hauszhan.³

This is a typical household poem. The theme of matrimony is suggested by reference to the care and feeding of babies. In many ways this poem reminds one of Folz's Von allem Hawszrath; the vocabulary is, with few exceptions, the same, but the order is different. The mention of cattle, horses, and wagons in On Sorg's poem indicates that he may have had a farmhouse in mind, rather than a bourgeois household in Nürnberg; but since the remaining vocabulary, even down to things like dogs, cats, and servants, is like Folz's, these details may not be significant. Then,

¹E. Weller, Dichtungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," CXIX; Tübingen, 1874), pp. 1-3. The manuscript contains six selections, of which the second is "ain Spruch von Hanns On Sorg, hausz zu halten." This is probably the only existing copy of the poem.

²Vss. 33-36.

³Vss. 68-72.

too, Folz himself mentions barnyard fowl. Phraseology and ideas are frequently like other household poems. On Sorg complains, "Hauszhan unnd pachen Wurdit mich lutter grau machen." Even in the earliest poems, the lack of utensils gave one gray hair. On Sorg's remark, "Und alle wochen malen und bachen" is similar to Junger's "Ich kan weder pachen noch malen."

XVIII

Another didactic poem of the early sixteenth century is Wie ain fromer hausman sein hausz verseechen soll, in an Augsburg manuscript.¹ The poem consists of sixteen couplets and begins:

Hauswirt wiltu sein an sorg
So kauff ein zu rechter zeytt on porg.

In a very prosaic manner it advises the head of the household to procure various foods, hearth and kitchen utensils, beds and bedding, furniture and fodder; the lady of the house is to keep everything clean and in order, and should learn to serve a dinner properly. Although the master and lady of the house are addressed directly, matrimony is not stressed further. The latter part of the poem, addressed to the wife, goes beyond the scope of the usual household poem in that it tells how to care for and use various domestic articles, and thus becomes similar to parts of the house and cook-books so popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The author was probably acquainted with Folz's poems on the same theme. Except for a few words, the vocabulary has remained pretty much the same. In this poem and in Folz's Von allem Hawszrath one meets the expression kuchen speyss, as well as combinations of kessel and pfannen, krug and heffen, gewurtz and schmier, stül and penck, which are by no means common, and frequent use of the same terminology:

Vnd andre notturft dran teglich gedenck.
Als das gott da von werde geert,
Vnd dein narung darbey auch gemert.
Vnd das als teglich mit fleisz bedenck²

¹No. 952, foll. 37b-c, in the Kreis- und Stadtbibliothek in Augsburg, referred to by Keller, Fastnachtspiels aus dem XV. Jahrhundert. Nachlese. ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," XLVI; Stuttgart, 1873), p. 330, No. 28. The manuscript is of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; one page is dated 1516.

²Wie ain fromer hausman, vss. 12, 15-17.

Solt sich alweg vor wol bedencken

 Beydt czu der nottorfft vnd zu eren

 Vnd weib vnd kint wisz czu nern,
 Darmit man sich bege mit ern.¹

There are several unusual new words in this Augsburg poem. Zemesz is probably Old High German zemisa, cemsa, zemise, zemisse, Modern High German Zemse, "bran," a word to be found only on the extreme southern edge of the German language area.² Another new word is almeý, almer, "box, chest," used in the south. A curious new word is instlet, a dialect form of Unschlitt, "tallow," at home in the eastern part of Middle Germany, Silesia and Upper Saxony.³ Otherwise the vocabulary is predominantly South German; the poem originated in Augsburg or Nürnberg.

XIX

An adaptation of the household theme to a New Year's gift or greeting, a Neujahrs-geschenk, may be seen in a long Strassburg poem beginning: "Hie in finstu zü eine nüwe Jar."⁴ It consists of thirteen pages and contains nine woodcuts of household utensils. No author, date, or place of printing is specified; the language and peculiarities of type point to Strassburg and the year 1514.⁵

The introduction is original: the poet's wife has always asked him to bring along all sorts of things from the Messe or Kirchweihfest. As proof that he hasn't forgotten her this time, he presents a list of all possible household articles one could wish for, and dedicates it to her, telling her to choose what she wants. The tone of the poem is light and humorous.

¹Folz, Von allem Hawszrath, vss. 2, 6, 281-2.

²"Zemse," J. and W. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch (Leipzig, 1854-).

³"Inselte," Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch.

⁴Facsimile in Hampe, Anhang II. The original is in the Priesterseminar in Strassburg.

⁵Dialect forms and expressions, some belonging specifically to Strassburg, the occurrence of the name of the city twice, and references to Brant's Narrenschiff leave little doubt as to the place of origin. The woodcut on page aiv b was used also in Geiler's Brösamlin, Strassburg, Grüninger, 1517; for a reproduction of this woodcut see J. Scheible, Das Kloster (Stuttgart, 1847), VI, figs. 277-288.

There is little plan in the listing, except that articles of a class are often placed in one line. The pictures, too, usually show a conglomeration of articles; only one, showing the bedroom, has anything approaching unity. The text takes up one picture after another, but mentions many things not on the pictures, and skips about among the pictures quite freely at times. The author evidently tries to be humorous by placing unexpected things in adjacent lines, in an attempt to relieve the dryness of the recital, and seems to have achieved a moderate success in this regard. There are a few rather serious moments, too, when the author praises the study of the Bible and other books, and recommends great care in the rearing of children, in the manner of Hans Folz. In general, however, this poem lacks the seriousness of Folz's; and whereas many practical hints in Folz's work found their way into cook-books, the Strassburg poem was not taken seriously.¹

Unusual in this work is the use of diminutive suffixes like -lin, -lein, which is not out of keeping with the light and flippant style. There are naturally many Alsatian words. The total number of words for household articles is close to four hundred, not counting the names of birds, fish, wines, and precious stones, which alone amount to over one hundred.

The purposely confused order of articles in the poem makes difficult the determination of relationship with other household poems; for only short periods are articles of one type listed together. However, an analysis of the total vocabulary is interesting, if not significant. Of the vocabulary of household utensils, 150 have appeared before; of these, 120 have occurred in Folz's Von allem Hawszrath. In other words, over a third of the articles in the Strassburg poem had been used before in a Nürnberg poem that had been very popular. Rhymes common to Folz and the Strassburg poem, such as strel:fel in Folz's Meisterlied (stanza 3) and the Strassburg poem (p. 9), and weyn:eyn in Folz's Spruchgedicht (p. 1) and the Strassburg poem (p. 1), are unimportant for determining relationship.

In terminology and arrangement the Strassburg work is most similar to another Nürnberg poem, Der Spruch Johannis On Sorg, which had appeared only a few years before; the following collocations are significant:

¹Hampe, p. 31.

Der Spruch Johannis On Sorg:

Ain hackbank unnd zway messer

Ain peckin, ain pürsten unnd
ain sträl

Laden trög unnd och küsten

Unnd zu dem fasz ein erin
zapffen.Ain ax, ain weggen und ain
pffegel,Ain pigel und darzu ain
schlägel.¹Strassburg Poem:Zwey Hackmesser nit zegrosz noch
zeclein.Ein Bürste eyn zwaghub vnd ouch
ein Strel.Arcken Schryn Kisten Trög vnd
Ledlin fyn.Dar by ein Gieszfes mit eym
hüpschen henlin.Kerch zeynen Karst Benen Wecken
vnd schlegelEgst Byhel Karst Howen vnd
pffegel.²

However much the Strassburg poem may owe to Folz and the household tradition, great change in the use of the genre is apparent. This is not a serious list of things necessary for maintaining a household. The listing has been carried to absurd lengths, and becomes so extensive as to outgrow its frame entirely and include impossible things like birds, fish for the table, rare wines, and jewelry. The order of articles is also different. The Alsatian first offers his wife a broom, with the admonition to keep the house clean; however, he turns to dishes and kitchen utensils immediately thereafter. The idea of matrimony, which was always so prominent in true household poems, and was the reason for giving a list of utensils, has begun to pale; the poem is merely addressed to the wife of the poet.

XX

A song of 1525 entitled Ain lied von dem Hauszrat gut, der gehört zu der Armut,³ and beginning: "Die Welt tut an mich bringen" is another household poem with a greatly changed point of view. The chief complaint of the author is about the high prices he must pay for the necessities of life. The world, he laments, urges him to sing, but he is not in the mood. How can he sing happily since prices have gone sky-high? He can afford only enough bread

¹Vss. 20, 32, 43, 52, 53-4.

²Pp. 3, 9, 14, 9, 15.

³A broadside in folio, Heidelberg 793, 69. The Berlin Library has a copy, Yd.7801.11, without the last stanza. Uhland prints a song based on both, p. 559, No. 279, "Teure Zeit," differing only in orthography from a song in J. Görres, Altteutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder (Frankfurt a.M., 1817), pp. 145-150.

and milk to keep alive, and just a little wood to keep a tiny fire in the stove. His home is empty, and even the mice have left for better living conditions:

Die meus die fliehen von mir ausz,
den hunger klagen sie ser,
mein brot das schimmelt mir nit vast,
die schuhe bind ich oft mit bast,
mein gwandtruch und der kuchenkast
stond zu aller zeit lär.

He has no table or chair, only two dishes and an old plate. His wife has an easy life, for there is nothing to do. How he wishes a pound of Schmalz lasted ten years, or that the poor could divide the money of the wealthy! The poor man can only console himself with the thought that he founds no churches, but is permitted to sit before them and beg. Towards the end he brightens up considerably: the sun always shines after a shower, and he remembers many happy days long past. The mood of the poem is one of annoyance and chagrin not untinged with hopefulness.

Primarily this is not a household poem; the few articles are brought in without emphasis, and no effort is made to list household necessities for their own sake. Uppermost in the poet's mind are the hard times that were making his life so miserable. The poem represents a mixture of the household and poverty themes.

A hint as to the place of origin may be seen in the mention of the lech out of which the poet procures his Backschmalz. The word is at home in the neighborhood of Augsburg rather than Nürnberg. Otherwise the vocabulary resembles that of the Nürnberg household poems, with the addition of a few words.

XXI

The poem is very similar to another song of the sixteenth century, beginning: "Heur gen disem summer."¹ This is a rollicking, humorous song by a newly-married man: 'I have just taken a wife. Poverty rang the bells. Can you guess the name of the bride? It is Ach leider! and the groom is Dasz Gott erbarm! We have no clothes, only a skinny, dry cow, the hide of which is more valuable than the meat. My bedding is so torn that I can scarcely

¹Heidelberg 109, fol. 104; also a fliegendes Blatt in the Berlin Library. Printed in Uhland, Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder, No. 277, "Heirath"; Görres, Altdeutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder, pp. 151-2. Uhland follows the Berlin text, Görres that in Heidelberg; they differ in the order of words and stanzas.

walk in the morning. I would gladly sell my wife for a little money, for I am off over the wide world with my companions. Let him marry who must, I have had enough!' And according to the last stanza, the poet took his own advice and left his wife.

This poem is one of a great number dealing with poverty and beggar's weddings. There is no doubt that earlier songs of this type were influenced by household poems, such as those of Hans Folz. In this poem, for example, there is still a conscious listing of utensils, even though the number has dwindled to a few, and the listing has been subordinated to the chief thought of the poem, that poverty and marriage cannot exist happily side by side, and that a roving life is best for a man without property. Here the list is positive, and instead of treating matrimony as something serious, the poet light-heartedly makes fun of it.

XXII

Rhymed lists of household utensils occur in a drama of the sixteenth century, Paul Rebhun's *Hochzeit zu Cana* (1538),¹ a Biblical drama based on the story of Christ at the wedding at Cana. Little is known of the early life of Rebhun. He studied in Wittenberg, and became an intimate friend of Melancthon and Luther, and for a time was even a member of Luther's household, privileged to eat at the table of the great Reformer. Rebhun was a teacher between 1531 and 1542, when upon Luther's warm recommendation the Elector Johann Friedrich called him as preacher and superintendent of schools to Ulsnitz. References to Rebhun in letters written by Luther and Melancthon attest the high regard in which he was held. He died in 1546, the year in which Luther died.²

In the preface to the drama, Rebhun dedicates the work to matrimony; it should instruct young married people how to conduct themselves, and should be especially helpful to those contemplating marriage. In the first act of scene one, we hear the groom bemoaning his poverty; neither he nor any of his wife's relatives have any money, and the future looks very drab; in despair, he prays to be delivered from his poverty. In the second scene the steward or Speisemeister enters and soliloquizes on the same theme;

¹Rebhuns dramatische Werke ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart," XLIX; Stuttgart, 1859).

²Ibid., pp. 175-6.

he expresses surprise at the rashness with which youth plunges into matrimony. Girls want to marry before they are twelve, and as a result, young married couples have a hard time of it at first: the wife can't cook, the husband can't support his wife and children--and all because young people don't know what they must buy for the home. The steward gives a few examples:

Brot, fleisch, kesz, butter, eyr und schmaltz,
Kraut, ruben, speck, mehl, würtz und saltz.
So wil man auch in pier odr wein
Das maul zu lang oft hengen ein
Zun kindern auch ein meidlin hört,¹
Dasselbig auch das brot nicht mehrt.¹

He continues with children's wear, bedding, kitchen utensils, furniture, and linens, including the most obvious things in the house.

The list has the characteristics of the traditional household poem; the articles were evidently taken over bodily from Folz's Von allem Hawszrath. The agreements are too striking to be accidental:

Rebhun:	Folz:
Spiss, offengabel, schauffel, rost Welchs alles seinen pfenning kost.	Dreyfuess blaszbalgk bratspis rost Mus man auch haben was es kost.
Auch handquel, tisch Tuch, facelet	Tischtuch czweheln vnd facilet.
Wenn sies nicht teglich borgen wolln.	Ob man nicht teglich drum wil czannen.
Vnd wie kan ichs gar rechnen aus Als was man haben muss ins haus?	Was man als haben mus ins haus ² Des ich ein teil will ecken aus. ²

The wedding theme of the Hochzeit zu Cana no doubt suggested borrowing elements from a poem stressing the difficulties of matrimony.

XXIII

Hans Sachs, the famous Nürnberg shoemaker and Meister-singer, composed a household poem entitled Der gantz Hawsrat bey dreyhundert stuck.³ This Spruchgedicht, dated December 12, 1544, is a reworking of Folz's Meisterlied, and to a lesser degree of

¹Ll. 121-126.

²Rebhun, ll. 131, 145, 148, 149-50; Folz, vss. 31-2, 9, 30, 3-4.

³Cod. Germ. 591, foll. 100-103, the fifth Spruchbuch of Hans Sachs, in the Berlin Library; printed by Hampe, Anhang II.

his Spruchgedicht also. Although it is smoother and more artistic in form, this revision is not the work of Hans Sachs at his best; the enumeration of articles is at times rather dry and contains only an occasional aside to break the monotony.

The framework of the poem is much more lively than that of either of Folz's works. One day, we read, while Hans Sachs is eating at his table with his family, a young man enters hurriedly and asks Sachs to be his Brautwerber, that is, to formally ask for the hand of a girl on his behalf. The young man reveals a devil-may-care attitude and a light-hearted contempt for all practical considerations like the support of a family. Hans Sachs warns him of the necessity of procuring the most necessary utensils in advance, and proceeds to recount many of them. After hearing the impressive list, the young man realizes the seriousness of his undertaking and decides to wait another year.

The body of the poem, like Folz's, is arranged according to the rooms of a house. Many of the lines are identical with those in one or the other of Folz's works. or are changed slightly. Only a few words in Sachs's revision are novel.

Hans Sachs's poem shows curious similarities also to the didactic Augsburg poem:

Traydt wein fleisch speck kās schmaltz
 Visch krautt öl auch holtz koll vnd saltz

 Almey kisten tisch stuell vnd penck
 Vnd andre notturft dran teglich gedenc

 Vnd das als teglich mit fleisz bedenck ¹
 Wasch das giesvass vnd wasch die penck.
 Erstlich in der stueben gedenc
 Muest haben disch sessel stüell vnd penck.

 Prot kās eyr fleisch vnd schmaltz
 Fisch öpfel pirn nüz vnd saltz.²

In corresponding places in Folz's Meisterlied we read, "in die stüben stül penck merck das," and "prot kesz saltz vnde schmaltz voran." Here Sachs is undeniably closer to the Augsburg poem.

Hans Sachs's Der gantz Hawsrat must have been as popular as Folz's poem five decades before, for it went through several editions. It was printed first in 1544 or 1545 by Hans Guldenmundt in Nürnberg, and has on its title-page a wood-cut of a young

¹Augsburg, vss. 3-4, 11-12, 17-18; see p. 44 above.

²Sachs, pp. 1, 3.

couple in conversation.¹ Next came two editions of 1553 (only one is dated so) printed in Nürnberg by Georg Merckel, both with a woodcut representing Hans Sachs at table and the young man entering; in this edition is also Sachs's Ein nutzlicher raht den jungen gesellen die so sich verheyraten wollen; the combination of these poems is very fitting. In 1558, Christoph Heussler in Nürnberg printed an edition for the bookseller Willer.² Then came two folio editions of 1560 and 1570, as well as one of 1560 without the name of printer and place, and the quarto edition of Kempten in Bavaria in the year 1612. A comparison of the manuscript with the chief editions of 1545, 1553, and 1558 reveals attempts to improve the quality, particularly as regards the meter, which were probably made by Hans Sachs himself. The print of 1545, which may perhaps be considered most authentic, often has better readings than the manuscript, but contains other errors which may be ascribed to the printer. The same holds true of the prints of 1553 and 1558 when compared with the print of 1545.³ The texts are so much alike, however, that it would be difficult to distinguish the order of their appearance on the basis of textual comparison alone.⁴

Many years before the appearance of this poem, Hans Sachs wrote a Meisterlied on an allied theme. Der schwknecht werckzewg⁵

¹E. Weller, Hans Sachs und seine Dichtungen (Nürnberg, 1868), No. 68, and Annalen (Freiburg, 1862), II, 37, lists an edition printed by Hans Guldenmund, undated, in the Stadtbibliothek in Nürnberg, and assumes its date was 1544. Will, Bibliotheca Norica, III, 787, e, lists an undated edition. Hampe doubts there was an edition of 1545, one reason being that he has been unable to unearth a single copy; if there was such an edition, it has been lost. The print referred to by Will may have been a later impression from the plates of the 1545 edition. The edition of 1545 bears the name of the printer and the date. For further details see Hampe, pp. 16-18; A. v. Keller and E. Goetze, Hans Sachs, XXIV ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins," CCXX; Stuttgart, 1900), 183-5, Enr. 202.

²Reprinted in Vol. I of the Nürnberg Folio edition of Hans Sachs's works, and in Keller and Goetze, Hans Sachs, V ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins," CV; Stuttgart, 1870), 339-344.

³E. Goetze, Hans Sachs, XXI ("Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins," CXCV; Stuttgart, 1892), 408, lists variants of the manuscript.

⁴Hampe, p. 21.

⁵E. Goetze and C. Drescher, Hans Sachs, III ("Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke," CLXI; Halle, 1900), 1-4.

lists the tools in a cobbler's shop and describes the work of the cobbler. Sachs represents the poem as having been written to redeem a coat from an innkeeper; while this framework is a device found in the jest-books, the poem undoubtedly contains personal reminiscences. Although Folz's Spruchgedicht may have suggested the theme to Sachs, the vocabulary and ideas are utterly different, and there seems to be little further connection with the household theme.

XXIV

Hans Guldenmundt, who in 1545 had published Hans Sachs's Der gantz Hawsrat, also is the printer of Der Niemand, a single-page print.¹ The upper portion of this print is a woodcut showing a man, whose lips are sealed with a padlock, striding over innumerable broken household utensils scattered about the floor. A few lines of verse appear at his left:

Der Niemand's so bin ich genant
Mäyden vnd Knechten wol bekant
Vnd darzü den mütwilligen kinden
Die mich allzeyt wissen zů finden
Was fur vnrat von in geschicht
Das man verwarlost vnd zerbricht
Das müsz ich alles haben than
Das macht das ich nicht reden kan.

Beneath the picture are several columns of couplets, in which "Nobody" complains of all the crimes that are unjustly credited to him; chief among his worries are the servants of a household, who break utensils and put the blame on him. For example, when the maid burns her arm on a pot of boiling water, she picks up the pot in a fury and hurls it against the wall. When her mistress asks who dented the pot, the maid glibly answers, "Nobody," who is not present to defend himself. The whimsical verses list some thirty-five domestic articles which are carelessly ruined in the name of this unfortunate scapegoat: vessels, jugs, plates, pans, glasses, a tripod, bellows, candlesticks, spinning tools, and the like; incidently a few articles of food are mentioned: meat, wine, and bread. Most of these common articles have appeared in Sachs's and Folz's poems.

The poem is undoubtedly an echo of the traditional household poem. The emphasis on the kitchen is characteristic of the genre; the idea of matrimony has paled. The poem contains a

¹E. Diederichs, Deutsches Leben der Vergangenheit in Bildern (Jena, 1908), p. 172, No. 570; the original is in Munich.

strange variation of the usual negative treatment: the utensils are not available for use because they have been broken and mutilated. The poem is interesting because it represents the intermingling of the household theme with the Niemand idea, which was becoming very popular at this time.

XXV

Another household poem in the form of a New Year's greeting comes to light in Basel. It is entitled Der Haussradt,¹ and was printed by Samuel Apiarius in Basel in 1569; no author is named. The title-page has a woodcut of a confusion of household utensils: a pot, goblet, plate, bowl, saltcellar, cask, tub, milk-pail, spoon, tablespoon, knife, spit, broom, shovel, hoe, rake, pitchfork, flail, hatchet, and bread.

The introduction to the list is quite ingenious. The author has been advised to buy a home. This requires money; he who has none is unfortunate, for he must submit to such indignities as being thrown out of inns. The rich man, on the other hand, always has an easy time of it. The poet, too, wants to be rich, but he wonders now if it isn't too late: the house he once owned burned down, and the Rhine washed away his fields. Furthermore, he really has no desire to own a house, for so many articles are required to fit it out properly that there is no use trying to get them all.

In the actual list, this poet shows remarkably little ingenuity and originality. For the greater part of his list, he merely copies Der Spruch Johannis On Sorg, the Nürnberg poem of 1510. Most of the lines are taken over bodily, with only occasional minor changes; for instance, verses 31-34 of the Basel poem read:

Ir Herren ich wil euch wüssen lan
 Warumb ich nicht hausz wil han
 In Hausz han müsz ich han angst vnd not
 Im hausz haben ziger / käsz vnd brot.²

¹E. Major, Der Haussradt, ein Basler Gedicht vom Jahre 1569 ("Drucke und Holzschnitte des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts," XIV; Strassburg, 1912). A slightly different version is printed by F. Vetter, Berner Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1880 (Bern, 1879), XXIX, 73-78; variants are given in E. K. Blümmel, Ludwig Uhlands Sammelband fliegender Blätter aus der zweiten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts (Strassburg, 1911), pp. 6-7

²See p. 43 above.

Ziger käsz is substituted for win, and the word order changed. Ir Herren for Nun hörend suggests that the Basel poet may have been relying on his memory, and did not have a copy of On Sorg's poem before him. This is borne out by other queer substitutions of articles for those of a similar sound. In verses 35-40, for instance, totally unrelated articles are incorrectly listed with foods:

Darzû fleisch rinderis vnd schweynis
 Bettgwand wullis vnd leynis
 Eyer vnd schmaltz
 Habermål vnd saltz
 Hirs / erbsen / linsen vnd bonen
 Darzu müsz ich den diensten lonen.¹

Usually the poet follows On Sorg closely:

On Sorg:

Der Haussradt:

Unnd müsset mich mit ain hundert ainen	Ich müsz mich mit dem Hund vereinen
Der mir wartet in dem Hausz	Das er mir blibe bey dein hausz
Das mir nütz gestelen wurd da- raus	Das mir niemandt nachts stål daraus
Unnd müstin ain katzen speysen	Ein katzen müsz ich speisen
Die mir wärt in den müsen.	Das sy mir wart der meusen. ²

When the author has exhausted the list of On Sorg, he proceeds enumerating for thirty lines more; this section might be original with the poet, although the articles are the same as in the other Nürnberg poems. The mention of six oxen to use in plowing is an original touch. At the end of the poem the poet bemoans the trouble he would have procuring all these things, as well as supporting a wife and having to stand her sharp tongue, and decides not to have a home of his own. However, if any young people are contemplating matrimony, they should listen to the advice of an experienced man and take heed to the things mentioned. To express the last thought, the author reproduces, with slight changes in vocabulary, three of the four lines of verse which appeared above the center picture on Hanns Paur's woodcut of household utensils:

Aber wölcher zû der Ehe greiffen wöll
 Der lûg voran das er darzû bestell
 Hauszradt / das er nicht mangel hab
 Da merck du magt vnd junger knab
 Wilt du dich hauszhan nemmen an
 So betracht was du darzu must han.³

¹See p. 43 above, vss. 5-10.

²On Sorg, vss. 56-60; Der Haussradt, vss. 93-97.

³See p. 37 above.

Thus it is evident that although this poem originated in Basel, and was printed as late as 1569, it is not, as Major says, a Swiss product, but merely another version of a Nürnberg poem.

XXVI

Lists of household utensils occur in interesting connections in Johann Fischart's Geschichtklitterung (1575).¹ Fischart, a lawyer of Strassburg and Speyer, was one of the greatest satirists of the reformation period; Catholicism, as well as the moral and political foibles of his age, felt the lash of his witty tongue. His fiery, encyclopedic style, with its heaping up of telling words and phrases, makes for an overwhelming, crushing effect that is most unusual. In the Geschichtklitterung, a free reworking of Rabelais' comic romance *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Fischart restricts himself to the early years and first heroic deeds of the giant Gargantua.

The detailed descriptions of life in the sixteenth century are fascinating. The eighth chapter is entitled: "Das Truncken Gespräch, oder die gesprächig Trunckenzech, ja die Truncken Litanei, vnnnd der Säufer vnnnd guten Schlucker Pfingstag, mit jhrer vnfeurigen doch dürstigen Weingengen Zungenlös, schönem gefräsß vnd gethös." We find ourselves in the crowded taproom of an inn. So avidly do the guests drink wine, that all available water-tight vessels, from the wash basin to the milk-pail, are pressed into service. Fischart, never at a loss for words, mentions about thirty-five of them, many with outlandish names, and which were never intended to be used for wine. Such a list has, of course, little to do with the household poem; it is not poetry, and merely a manifestation of the encyclopedic style of the author, who often lists thirty, forty, and fifty verbs to describe the action of a group of people.

Amidst the din in the taproom one begins to hear snatches of popular songs. One loud-mouthed drinker sings:

Herbei, herbei, was löffel sei
zu disem brei, gar bald vnd frei,
ich hoff vns sol gelingen,
het wir nur loffel silbre loffel
lange loffel grosse loffel . . .

¹Johann Fischart's Geschichtklitterung ("Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke," LXV-LXVI; Halle, 1886).

and continues for three long stanzas, listing all possible kinds of spoons, large and small, straight and crooked, teaspoons, soup-spoons, ad infinitum. This song, the Quodlibet von Löffeln, was printed as early as 1534 in Nürnberg.¹ Fischart, as is his custom, follows the text of this popular song fairly closely, except that he omits part of stanza two and changes the order. It is quite possible that the song is an outgrowth of a household poem, and that it refers humorously to the collecting of household utensils by a newly-married pair; this is borne out by the fact that the song was sung at weddings.² Then, too, Fischart inserts two kinds of spoons not mentioned originally: "Bubenlöffel," a grotesque Fischartian compound, and, more significantly, "Schaumlöffel," a word very common in the Nürnberg household poems. About sixty kinds of spoons are mentioned, many more than appear in any household poem; this is partly due to Fischart's extraordinary ingenuity in thinking up ridiculous compounds, and partly to a more finely developed sense of discernment between varieties of spoons. The household poems by their very nature do not profess to be lexicographical or to make fine distinctions.

After the song of the spoons, one hears other songs on many themes, sometimes only one or two bars from one song. Someone sings:

Ich armer knecht
kam selten recht
Mein seckel hat kein Futer mehr.

This is part of a song of three stanzas beginning:

Ich bin verzagt gen einer magd,
dass sie mich nimmer haben will,

which was printed several times between 1544 and 1584.³ It is not a household poem, as the three lines seem to indicate, but the song of a discarded suitor. The one who had sung snatches of this song breaks off with: "Hoscha wer weiter kann, der sings fortan," and immediately plunges into the second stanza of a song of eleven stanzas, entitled Ein armer man wolt weiben, and sings through to the end. Fischart's version is almost identical with prints of

¹121 Lieder, 1534, Nos. 118-120; W. Schmeltzel, 1544, No. 5. See C. Williams, "Zur Liederpoesie in Fischarts Gargantua," Paul und Braune Beiträge, XXXV (1909), 437, 441-2.

²Williams, Paul und Braune Beiträge, XXXV, 442-3.

³L. Erk and F. Böhme, Deutscher Liederhort (Leipzig, 1893), III, No. 1659; Williams, Paul und Braune Beiträge, XXXV, 444.

the song current at his time.¹ In this song a poor man proposes to the lady of his choice; she is chary and demands to know his circumstances, and in answer he boasts of what he does not possess. His estate requires no watchman; he cannot give a tithe of his wine and grain. His house has no servants, and is painfully empty; even the rats and mice have deserted. One would find little wine in his cellar, or food in the kitchen; no mildew is in his grain, no cow or calf in the barn, no silverware in the closet. In short, so little furniture is there that his wife would never need trouble herself about cleaning and housekeeping. In answer, the woman recounts her possessions: a good income, a comfortably furnished home, and good food: her husband could eat delectable chickens and game whenever he liked.

This poem incorporates several features of the traditional household poem. The couple is about to embark on a matrimonial venture. There is a negative listing of utensils, as in earlier poems of the genre, and a positive inventory, as in some of the later poems. It is significant that the list itself is an important part of the song. The deserting rats and mice, and other living beings in the household, although found in less distinct form in earlier household poems, here are mentioned in a way suggesting a connection with Ain Lied von dem Hauszrat gut:

Kein Ratt noch Mausz, in meinem Hausz,
horstu zu keiner Stunden;
darzu kein schab in kleidern hab
ich all mein Tag nicht funden.

Ich hab in meinem Keller
kein seygern brochnen wein,
Der kost mich nit ein heller,
kein brot wirt schimlicht drein.²

XXVII

According to Theodor Hampe, the Meistersinger Benedict von Watt, who lived at the end of the sixteenth century, wrote a house-

¹Printed in a broadside in Strassburg, bearing no date; variants in Paul und Braune Beiträge, XXXVII (1911), 268; Reutterliedlin, 1535, No. 6, eleven stanzas of eight verses; Gassenhauer und Reutterliedlin, No. 56, stanza 1; 65 Lieder, ca. 1536; Schöffer and Apiarius, No. 41, eleven stanzas; a broadside without date, printed in Nürnberg, now in the Vatican. See F. Böhme, Altdeutsches Liederbuch (Leipzig, 1877), pp. 315-7, No. 236.

²See p. 48 above.

hold poem entitled Was zu eim schönen Hausz gehöre.¹ Hampe was misled by the title; this is not a household poem, but relates an incident from the siege of Antwerp. The point of the poem is summarized in the last lines:

Nichts Zielt besser Ein Hause
Dann ein Redlicher Wirt gelaubet mir.

In the latter part of the sixteenth century appeared a song of three stanzas entitled "Es wolt ein pauer hochzeit han,"² describing the wedding of a poor peasant couple. One peasant tells another of the celebration. A crossbow, pork-spit, fife, and drum are produced for the occasion. The bride, who is only twelve years old, appears and the wedding procession begins. For the dinner the guests eat oatmeal, sour wine, and buttermilk.

This song contains some of the elements of the household poem: matrimony, the poverty of the bridal pair, and the listing of articles; however, the list is not negative, but this is often a trait of household poems used in connection with the theme of a wedding. This song belongs to the genre known as the "Bettelmanns Hochzeit," a humorous folksong describing the wedding of a poor couple. There are innumerable variations: some list the few articles the couple owns, others the utensils which are lacking, usually only a few articles in each case. Sometimes the peasant couples have nothing, and the wedding procession consists of animals, who have various duties to perform in the ceremony. The theme has persisted in children's rhymes.³

XXVIII

In the first part of the seventeenth century falls Der

¹T. Hampe, "Lionhard Nunnenbeck," Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, XI (1895), 176-7; Euphorien, IV (1897), 28, n. 3. The text is printed by A. Taylor, Modern Language Notes, LI (1936), 241-3.

²Oth. Siegfrieden Harnisch, Neue Auserlesne Lieder zu fünff and vier Stimmen (Helmstadt, 1588), No. 12; L. Uhland, Alte hoch- und niederdeutsche Volkslieder (Stuttgart, 1881), No. 247.

³F. Böhme, Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel (Leipzig, 1897), p. 128, Nos. 588-91, p. 248, Nos. 1228-1232; J. Lewalter and G. Schläger, Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel in Kassel, Kassel, 1911), p. 324, No. 213; K. Weinhold, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, III (1893), 228-230; J. Bolte and G. Polivka, Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen (Berlin, 1918), III, 73-74.

Bawren Haushaltung (Wittenberg, 1606) by Joachim Berlin, reprinted in Johann Coler's Calendarium Perpetuum in 1607.¹ The title-page indicates the type of work it is: "Wie sich ein jeder Baurman / mit seinem Weibe / gegen seinen Söhnen / die Mutter gegen ihren Töchtern / auch gegen Knechten und Mägden erzeigen sollen." A woodcut on the first page shows a home and barnyard: a load of hay is being brought in, and men are working in the fields. The author of the work, an ecclesiastic, begins with a quotation from Psalm 65 and a spiritual preface stressing the need for sound advice about the correct management of a Christian household; the subject-matter of the work, he assures us, is taken from his wedding sermons. On page six, where the poem begins, are three small woodcuts, representing a barnyard, kitchen, and cellar, all with considerable detail.

The poem consists of practical and moral advice to all members of a household, interspersed with stories from the Bible. It is divided into several chapters, devoted respectively to the father, the son, the wife, and the daughter, extending twenty-five pages. A few sections contain rhymed lists of domestic articles: the father is admonished to procure seed far in advance, to care for his horses personally, and to cultivate and harvest his crops properly, so as to have enough for the needs of family and cattle (p. 8). The author shows us the unpleasant picture of the careless householder: he spends too much time in the inn and neglects his work; the farm falls into ruin, and the farmer must go to his neighbors in winter and attempt to buy food and fodder (pp. 9-10). In describing the wife, the bad example of a lazy wife is likewise cited: everything is in disorder, no one can find anything, the stove-poker and broom have disappeared, and things are where they shouldn't be. Clothing is lying on the floor, or comes to light on the manure-pile. The bread, which is not put into the oven at the right time, drops and becomes inedible (p. 19). The dutiful daughter keeps pots and pans spick and span, in addition to her other virtues (pp. 20-24). Pages 25-38 are devoted to reproducing "Herrn Ringwalts Lehre von frommen Töchtern, Knechten und Mägden, Item von ihrer belohnung und straff." The teachings of Ringwalt are to a great extent repetitious; the articles vary but little from those in the first part.

¹Yh. 7081-2 and Ov 1696 in Berlin; E. Weller, Annalen (Freiburg, 1862), I, 362.

In this long-winded, moralizing poem, only a few dozen lines mention household articles, and they are scattered throughout the poem in an incidental manner. The closest approach to a list comes in connection with farming implements, when about twenty articles occur on one page. The author shows a singular lack of imagination, often repeating certain groups of articles. Of the fifty articles mentioned, all but two have appeared in the Nürnberg poems, but not in any way indicative of derivation.

However, the ideas connected with the list are familiar. The author addresses himself to married people and their children, and stresses matrimony. At times the cares of housekeeping weigh heavily:

Auch Ofengabel find man nicht
 Von der Kehrstang weis niemands bericht
 Das Weib schreit: man du alter Narr,
 Such flugs hero die Trog-schar.¹

Such emotional outbursts occur in many household poems; one is reminded also of Von dem Hausgeschirre: "Wo haspel, flachs, trogscherren?" The mental anguish of a poor householder:

Vor angst möcht er entlaufen drausse
 Krimmt sich vor leidt denn in Haarn.²

is similar to that of previous poets.³

Appended to this poem is another entitled Der Niemand (pp. 39-44). On the first page is a picture of Der Niemand, a grotesque, winged human figure without hands or feet, blindfolded, standing upon the sphere of the world. Author, printer, or date are not specified. The poem consists of enigmatic utterances of Der Niemand, such as:

Niemand ist alle weg gewesen.
 Von Niemand hat man nicht gelesen.

The poem contains a section similar to Der Niemand printed by Guldenmundt; here, too, Der Niemand complains of the household utensils broken in his name. The careless maid lets the fire get out of control, and the leg of a settee is burned off. There seems to be no connection with the Guldenmundt print, yet the poems are of the same type, and the vocabulary is only slightly different. Undoubtedly this poem also represents a combination of the household and Niemand themes.

¹P. 19.

²P. 34

³See p. 34 above.

XXIX

Rhymed lists of domestic articles appear in a seventeenth-century print advertising a doll's house on exhibition in Nürnberg.¹ The title reads: Abrisz / Entwerffung vnd Erzehlung / was in dem / von Anna Köferlin zu Nürmburg / lang zusammen getragendem Kinder-Hausz / dergleichen nie gesehen noch gemacht / anzutreffen / vnd wie ettlich Hundert Stuck / alle zum gemeinen Nutz auch dienstlich / darinn zu sehen. The upper portion of the print shows a four-story stone house, no doubt the miniature house; on the building are the words: "Soli Deo Gloria. Principio respice finem," and the date: MDCXXXI. A man and woman are leading children to the building. The text, consisting of 152 verses, begins:

Gleich wie der Vogel zu dem Flug
Von Gott dem Herrn erkorn
Also der Mensch verständig klug,
Zur Arbeit ist geboren.

This moralizing poem begins with the thought that man is made to work; even the wife, the weaker vessel, is loaded down with cares about her children and the affairs of the household. Since God has not seen fit to grant her (Anna Köferlin) the boon of motherhood, she is devoting her life to the instruction of the young and their preparation for the places they are to occupy in this world of work. In order that they may keep house intelligently when they grow up, she invites them to look at her Kinderhaus, with its many completely furnished and decorated rooms. There are over one hundred pieces of furniture and utensils in the home, but in the poem she can mention only a few: dishes, musical instruments, books, bedding, vessels of tin and porcelain, weapons, and casks of wine in the cellar.

This poem owes much to the household poems of Nürnberg and the picture of Hanns Paur. It also is a warning to the young: these are the things they must procure when they marry and establish their own homes. The remarks about the worries of housekeeping strike a familiar note:

Schaut was doch für ein Jammer
Hauszrath ein wolbestelltes Hausz
Fordert doch mit wenigem
Komt man zu zeiten auch wol ausz.²

¹H.B.2243 in the Germanisches Museum in Nürnberg.

²These lines, with slight changes, occur also in K. Biene-mann, Ehebüchlein (Nürnberg, 1602), p. 126, which lists no utensils.

In many respects the model home of Anna Köferlin is a traditional household poem in very concrete form

XXX

Jan Luiken's Het Leerzam Huisraad (Leyden, 1711) is a Dutch symbol or emblem book based on the utensils of the household. It consists of fifty chapters, each bearing as title the name of some household article, e.g. the table, the chair, the clock, and the bed. A large picture of each article takes up almost a page; beneath it is a Bible passage, the text for a short sermon in verse on the opposite page, woven about the domestic article in question. For instance, beneath the picture of a family sitting at a dining-table is the passage Matt. 8:11, "Many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven." The didactic poem dwells on this theme, stressing the joys of the faithful in the company of the patriarchs. There is no rhymed list of household utensils in this emblem book; each utensil serves as the allegorical theme for a religious discourse. There is no connection with the household poem.

XXXI

The household poem as a literary genre died out more than three centuries ago, but the theme has persisted in folksong to the present day. We have already seen that it found its way into songs of poverty, drinking songs, and songs of peasant weddings. The fact that one or more of the traditional characteristics of the genre are present, reveals the origin of these rhymed lists of utensils. An interesting application of the theme may be seen in certain types of humorous love songs, or songs of courtship, in which a suitor proposes to a girl and recounts all his personal belongings. In many songs the property is ridiculously shabby and incomplete:

Ei du mein schöne Margret! hättest du mich,
So hättest gut Leben vergeben wie ich.

Ich hab ein Haus darauf kein Dach,
Die Fenster sind mit Lumpen vermacht.
.....
Ich hab ein Pfannen, daran kein Stiel,
.....
Ich hab ein Kessel, daran kein Riemen.

The poet has a barn, but no cow; a cellar, but no wine; a purse, but no money.¹ Another song begins:

Wenn ich nur ein Mädchen hätte,
Die mir recht gewogen wär.

In his zeal to persuade his girl to marry him, the suitor sings:

Alte Töpfung, alte Tiegel,
Hab ich eine Küche voll,
Sieben unbeschlagne Krüge,
Die gefallen mir recht wohl,
Und ist das nicht provitabel,
Hab ich auch noch über das,
Eine alte Ofengabel
Und zum braten einen Spiess.²

This song is found in many broadsides and varies in length from five to eighteen stanzas.³ The vocabulary is like that of Folz's Von allem Hawszrath, and consists of the most ordinary articles. It is significant that although the list is positive, traces of the negative idea remain: something is amiss with each of the articles, either it is old, broken, or incomplete. And although the wedding lies in the future, the song emphasizes the prosaic demands of married life. In a similar song, "Hunderttausendmal ich wundr' mich,"⁴ an old man proposes to a girl and mentions his decrepit utensils, and is promptly rejected. In another, an embarrassing lack of dishes and utensils becomes evident on the very wedding day.⁵ In "Vermächdnis," a Prussian song, a disappointed suitor ruefully reminds the girl, who has since married another, of all the things he gave her and promised her; the articles range from fine linen to farming tools.⁶ A charming Swedish song by Fröding, "Aktenskapsfragan,"⁷ is a modern household poem: a young couple eagerly recount all the things they shall have some day, a plow, a horse, a garden, good food, dishes, and bedding; but

¹Erk and Böhme, No. 888. See A. Treichel, Volkslieder und Volksreime aus Westpreußen (Danzig, 1895), p. 81.

²Yd. 7919.55 in the Berlin Library.

³A. Kopp, Deutsches Volks- und Studentenlied (Berlin, 1899), pp. 145-7.

⁴A. v. Flugl, Volkslieder des Engadin (Strassburg, 1873), p. 67.

⁵Erk and Böhme, No. 889.

⁶H. Frischbier, Preussische Volkslieder in plattdeutscher Mundart (Königsberg, 1877), p. 15, No. 7.

⁷Samlade Skrifter av Gustav Fröding (Stockholm, 1923), II, 24.

suddenly they realize they cannot afford them, and their air castles vanish.

Lists of household utensils are frequently found in connection with definite numbers in nursery rhymes and games. The number twelve is popular in such number-rhymes; many are entitled: "The Twelve Months of the Year," or "The Twelve Days of Christmas."¹ These days were considered important for forecasting the weather for each of the twelve months following. Usually such songs list birds, animals, gold rings, and the like, which a suitor gives his lady, or a mother gives her child, on each of the twelve days or months:

The first day of Christmas
My mother sent to me
A partridge in a pear tree.²

The gifts have little to do with a household, as a rule. A formula-song listing the dowry of a bride occurs in Nuptiae Rustici, written about 1760 by a South German ecclesiastic. The enumeration is based on the number twenty:

Es heyrath ein Baur sein Dochter aus,
Wohl in den zwanzig Jahr.
Mein, was gab er ihr darzue?
20 buchsamene Löffl,
Die macht der braun Söffl,
19 junge Gansl
Die hiet im Feld der Hansl,
18 Wetzstein,

and so forth until the list ends:

5 Feldschwein,
3 Ros 2 Kühe und a Kalb,
Und a falba Henn
Das gab er ihr darzue.³

In this and other short verses reviewing the dowry of the bride, especially in many Schnaderhüpfel:

A paar gschekati Oxn,
A schneeweisze Kuah,

¹A. Taylor, "Formelmärchen," Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens, II, 172.

²J. O. Halliwell, Nursery Rhymes ("Percy Society"; London, 1842), p. 157, No. 226. See also R. Chambers, Popular Rhymes of Scotland (London, 1847), p. 188; ibid., (1870), p. 42; E. de Coussemaker, Chants populaires des Flamands (1856), p. 133.

³Innsbruck 980, fol. 83b; J. Bolte, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde, XIII (1903), 224, No. 14. "Aussteuer der Bauern-tochter."

Dõ gibt ma mein Vata¹
Wann i' heirat'n tua.¹

one finds a list of needed domestic articles associated with matrimony.

The household theme, with its characteristic features, lives on especially in children's rhymes. For instance, one well-known rhyme is:

Backe, backe, Kuchen,
Der Bäcker hat gerufen,
Wer will guten Kuchen backen,
Der musz haben sieben Sachen,
Eier und Schmalz,
Butter und Salz,
Milch und Mehl,
Safran macht die Kuchen gehl.
Schieb, schieb in Ofen nein.²

These articles have appeared in Nürnberg household poems since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Eier und Schmalz, rhyming with Salz, are found in On Sorg's poem of 1510, and in the Basel version of 1569 based upon it. It is interesting to note that Eier und Schmalz, in the late Middle Ages, is a Bavarian-Franconian dish, and is mentioned by the König vom Odenwalde.

Another interesting children's rhyme, Der Mutter Hausbestand,³ is very widespread in Germany. One version begins:

Als ich ein armes Weib war,
Zog ich über den Rhein.
Beschert mir Gott ein Hühnelein;
War ich ein reiches Weib.
Fragten mich alle Leut,
Wie mein Hühnelein hiesze,
Bibberlein heiszt mein Hühnelein.

The following stanzas repeat the introduction, and add a new object to the list, and repeat all previously listed objects in reverse order, so that all stanzas end like the first. Later stanzas contain enormous lists of things, usually animals and their queer names:

Entiquentlein heiszt mein Entlein,

¹E. Blümml and F. Krauss, Ausseer und Ischler Schnaderhüpfel ("Der Volksmund," III; Leipzig, 1906), pp. 27, 141, No. 12.

²F. Böhme, Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel (Leipzig, 1897), p. 46, No. 174. See also pp. 47-8.

³G. Meyer, Die Heimat (Kiel), XVIII (1908), 48-9; Kock, Die Heimat, XXXIV (1924), 225-6; R. Koehler, Kleinere Schriften (Berlin, 1900), III, 269-270; Böhme, Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel, pp. 268-70, Nos. 1264-1266.

Wackelschwänzlein heisst mein Gänslein,
 Klippenbein heisst mein Zicklein,
 Guckheraus heisst mein Haus,
 Hat er gesagt heisst mein Magd,
 Ehrenwerth heisst mein Pferd,
 Haberecht heisst mein Knecht,
 Wettermann heisst mein Hahn,
 Hüpfinsstroh heisst mein Floh.¹

The form of these songs is alike, and the names are descriptive of the acts, sounds, or appearance of the objects named; usually the songs list the living beings in the household. These rhymes are related to the household poem; the fowl, cattle, and servants have been considered part of the household since the earliest poems on this theme. Furthermore, they have often been named; compare these children's rhymes with this section from Von dem husrate:

Min katze heizzet Zise,
 min kneht der heizzet Wise
 Min pfert heizzet Kerne
 und fiht harte gerne
 Min maget heizzet Metze
 und spinnet an eime bletze.²

Beggar's songs, like those of the sixteenth century, have been carried over into children's rhymes in great number; many list lacking household articles. A Christmas song, "Inmitten der Nacht, Ihr Hirten erwacht," describes the poverty of the parents of Christ:

Sie hat kein Pfännelein,
 Zum Kochen dem Kindelein,
 Kein Brot und kein Schmalz,
 Kein Mehl und kein Salz.³

All the marks of the traditional genre are present; note also the Salz: Schmalz rhyme used as early as the twelfth century.

Thus do the echoes of a once-popular literary genre resound in folksong and the rhymes of the nursery to the present time.

¹Böhme, Deutsches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel, p. 270, No. 1264.

²Vss. 111 ff.

³G. Züricher, Kinderlieder der deutschen Schweiz (Basel, 1926), p. 258, No. 3868. See also pp. 250-58, Nos. 3724-3866.

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